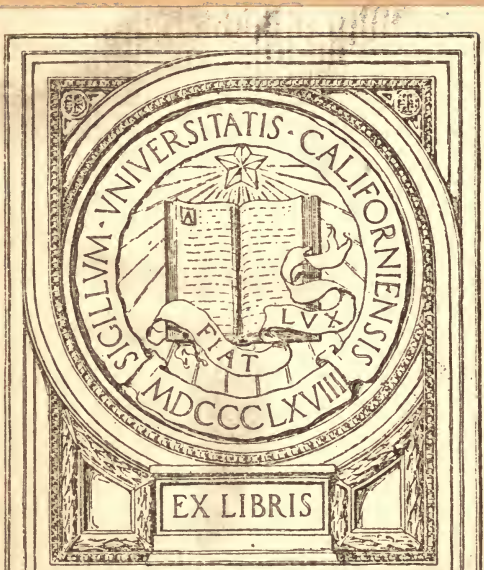

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By

William Eleroy Curtis

Author of "The Capitals of Spanish America," "The United States and Foreign Powers," etc.

"Our greatest happiness does not depend on the condition of life in which chance has placed us, but is always the result of good conscience, good health, occupation and freedom in all just pursuits."—THOMAS JEFFERSON

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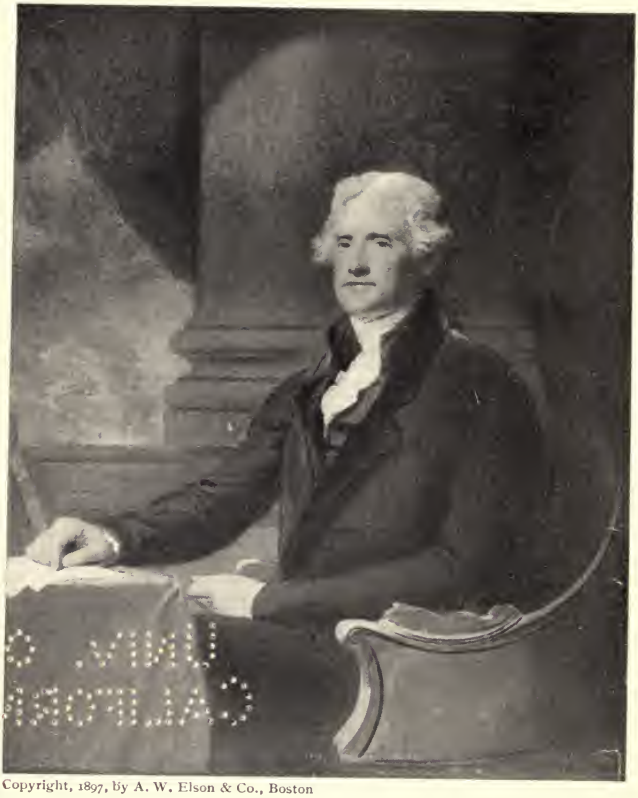

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THOMAS JEFFERSON

(Painted by Gilbert Stuart)

TO

HENRY WATTERSON

A TRUE DEMOCRAT
WHO BELIEVES, WITH
JEFFERSON, THAT A
MAN MUST SOMETIMES
BE INCONSISTENT IF
HE IS SINCERE

Note

THIS is not a formal biography. It is intended to be a series of sketches as graphic and as accurate as possible, without partisanship or prejudice, of a remarkable man. Thomas Jefferson has been the subject of several able and distinguished biographers, friendly and unfriendly, for whom he left an abundance of material carefully arranged by his own hand. His writings, public and private, which are more voluminous than those of any other American statesman, have twice been published, and furnish direct evidence concerning his acts and opinions. His views upon public questions have been carefully arranged in alphabetical order in an Encyclopædia, to which the student of his life and times may turn with satisfaction and confidence. From these and many other original sources the information presented in this volume has been gathered and arranged in unconventional form in order that the reader may see the man as he actually was, and not as his partisans and opponents represent him. The purpose of his life, which appears on almost every page, was to build a nation upon this continent with human freedom and equality as its foundations. In his efforts to accomplish this end he often incurred the criti-

cisms of his friends as well as the condemnation of his enemies. His faults were as conspicuous as his abilities, and to form a correct estimate of his character both should receive equal and honest consideration.

In a personal letter to the author of this volume, who had requested of the Democratic editor some prefatory words, Henry Watterson says: "I do not like to see two names upon a title page. But I will say this: Though not a hero worshipper, I am too good a partisan to question my principal; and Jefferson has been not alone my file-leader, but a guiding star in my political firmament. I am used to measure all systems, to try all causes, to determine all policies, by the rules laid down in his philosophy. To me he stands out, after Washington and Franklin, the one clear figure in our early history, a perfect Doric column: wanting the brilliant levity of Hamilton; the sturdy, but narrow, spirit of Adams; sure-footed and far-seeing; not merely a statesman of the first order, but a very principal in the domain of original thinking and moral forces. The minor circumstances of his private life may interest me, but could in no wise change my perspective, because I am fixed in the belief that he was an upright and disinterested man, who considered his duty to his country before all else. Such inconsistencies as appear in his career are but proofs of this, since he never can wholly be true to his convictions, or potent for good in

affairs, who does not adapt himself to the changing exigencies of the times, suiting his actions to his words, his words to his actions, according to the course of events. I know of no vanity so illusory and mischievous as that emanating from the ordinary yet heedless boast of consistency. No man is the same at five and forty he was at five and twenty. Nor does the world stand still. To apply principle to practice; to ally tradition with progress; to stand squarely upon one's feet, yet to see a little ahead; to refuse to bar the door to truth, though consistency fly out of the window; —these are the lessons statesmen need most to learn if they would serve the State and survive the time; and Mr. Jefferson had studied all their actual requirements and marked all their moral lessons. More than this I care not to know."

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By Gilbert Stuart (usually considered the best portrait of Jefferson). From the original in Bowdoin College. By permission of A. W. Elson & Co., Boston.

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By permission of Hon. Jefferson M. Levy, New York City, present owner of Monticello.

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A Jeffersonian Calendar

Born	April 13, N.S. 1743
Father died	1757
Entered college	March, 1760
Graduated	April, 1762
Admitted to bar	1767
Elected to House of Burgesses	1769
Married	January, 1772
Elected to Continental Congress	March, 1775
Attends Virginia Assembly	October, 1776
Elected Governor of Virginia	June 1, 1779
Reëlected	June 1, 1780
Resigned	June 1, 1781
Elected delegate to Congress	November, 1781
Mrs. Jefferson died	September, 1782
Elected delegate to Congress	June, 1783
Minister to France	May, 1784
Appointed Secretary of State	September, 1789
Leaves France	October, 1789
Resigns as Secretary of State	December, 1793
Elected Vice-President	November, 1796
Nominated for President	May, 1800
Elected President	February 17, 1801
Inaugurated	March 4, 1801
Louisiana Treaty signed	May 2, 1803
Louisiana Treaty ratified	October 20, 1803
Reëlected President	November, 1804
Retires from Presidency	March 4, 1809
University of Virginia established	1818
Writes last letter	June 25, 1826
Died	July 4, 1826

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The True Thomas Jefferson

I

JEFFERSON'S FAMILY

JEFFERSON came honestly by his red hair, his tenacity of purpose, which in lesser men is sometimes called stubbornness, and his love of controversy. His father, Peter Jefferson, was a Welshman, whose family is said to have come to the colonies at an early date from the foot of Snowden, the highest mountain in Great Britain. He knew nothing of them, although he sometimes boasted that the first of the name in Virginia was a member of the Assembly of 1619, the first legislative body that ever convened on the western continent; but he was never able to prove relationship. His mother was of a good Scotch family of wealth and influence. Her name was Jane, and her father was Isham Randolph, one of the richest tobacco lords in Virginia. Peter Jefferson was a surveyor, like Washington, and both attained social position through marriage. Thomas Jefferson used to sneer at the long pedigree of his mother's family and to boast that his father came from the soil, but, nevertheless, in 1771 he wrote to Thomas Adams, his agent in London, "to search the herald's office for the arms of my family. I have what I am told are the family arms, but

on what authority I know not. It is possible there may be none. If so, I would, with your assistance become a purchaser, having Sterne's word for it that a coat of arms may be purchased as cheap as any other coat."

The result of that inquiry is not alluded to in his writings or records, but appears frequently at Monticello, even upon the fence that encloses his tomb. According to Colonel B. Lewis Blackford, of Washington, an authority on Virginian heraldry, the Jefferson coat-of-arms is a shield, bearing upon the "chief" or upper third three leopards' faces in silver upon a ground of red, or "gu," as the heralds write it. The lower part of the shield is blue fretted with gold. This combination is unusual and appears in only one other heraldic achievement,—that of the Earl of Spencer. The crest is the head of a talbot, or mastiff, "erased" or broken off roughly, leaving the base with an uneven line. The head is "eared" and "langed gu," which in heraldry means that the ears, mouth, and tongue are red.

The motto is *"Ab eo Libertas a quo Spiritus."*

Jefferson used an engraved seal in his private correspondence which bore a monogram of the initials of his name, "T. J.," surrounded by the motto in English, "Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God."

Since his death President Jefferson's descendants have traced the family line with great satisfaction. The first Jefferson mentioned in the histories of Virginia bore the name of John, and is said to have been one of a commission of three sent over from England to look into the affairs of the colony. He arrived in 1619 in the ship Bonahora. He was made a burgess the same year. In 1626 he secured a patent for two hundred and

JEFFERSON'S SEAL

JEFFERSON'S COAT-OF-ARMS

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fifty acres of land at Archer's Hope, and was in Farolay's Council at Jamestown, representing Flower de Hundred. His son, Thomas Jefferson, of Henrico, married Mary Branch, and died in 1697. Their son, Captain Thomas Jefferson, of Osborne, Henrico County (born 1679, died 1715), married Mary Field in 1698. Their son, Peter Jefferson, was the father of Thomas Jefferson, of Monticello.

The following memoranda were written by Thomas Jefferson in a Prayer-Book that belonged to Peter Jefferson:

"Births, marriages and deaths of Peter and Jane Jefferson and their children:

	Births.	Marriages	Deaths.
Peter Jefferson.....	1707/8, Feb. 29th.	1739	1759, Aug. 17.
Jane Randolph	1720, Feb. 9th.		1776, Mar. 31.
Jane Jefferson	1740, June 27th.	.....	1765, Oct. 1.
Mary "	1741, Oct. 1st.	1760, Jan. 24.	
Thomas "	1743, Apr. 2nd.	1772, Jan. 1st.	1826, July 4. at 12.50 P.M.
Elizabeth "	1744, Nov. 4th.	.....	1773, Jan. 1.
Martha "	1746, May 29th.	1765, July 20.	
Peter Field "	1748, Oct. 16th.	.....	1748, Nov. 29.
A son	1750, Mar. 9th.	.....	1750, Mar. 9.
Lucy "	1752, Oct. 10th.	1769, Sept. 12.	
Randolph "	1755, Oct. 1st.		
Anna Scott "		1788, Oct.	1828, July 8."

"Births and deaths of John and Martha Wayles, father and mother of Martha Jefferson wife of Thomas Jefferson.

"Martha Eppes, born Apr. 10th, 1712, at Bermuda Hundred; intermarried Oct. 28th, 1742 with Lewellyn Epes—He died Sept. 11th, 1743.

"John Wayles, born at Lancaster, England, Jan. 31st, 1715—intermarried with Martha Eppes, May 3rd, 1746—Died May 28th, 1773.

"Their daughter Martha Wayles, born Oct. 31st, 1748—The mother died Nov. 5th, 1748.

"Martha Wayles married Bathurst Skelton, Nov. 20th, 1766,—he died Sept. 30th, 1768. Their child, John Skelton, born 1767, Nov. 7th, died June 10th, 1771. Thomas Jefferson and Martha Wayles intermarried Jan. 1st, 1772."

The deaths must have been added by " J. H. R.," his granddaughter, as Jefferson could not have entered his own death or that of Anna Scott in 1828.

Isham Randolph was a man of affairs and considerable eminence in the Virginia colony, and his name was associated with much that is good and wise. He was a student of natural history in a small way and from him Jefferson inherited his love of plants and flowers. We get a miniature portrait of him in a quaint letter written by Peter Collinson, of London, to Bertrand, the botanist, who was about to visit Virginia to study the flora:

" When thee proceeds home, I know no person who will make thee more welcome than Isham Randolph. One thing I must desire of thee, and do insist that thee must oblige me therein; that thou make up that drugget clothes, to go to Virginia in, and not appear to disgrace thyself or me; for though I would not esteem thee the less to come to me in what dress thou wilt, yet these Virginians are a very gentle, well dressed people, and look, perhaps more at a man's outside than his inside. For these and other reasons, pray go very clean, neat, and handsomely dressed to Virginia."

Peter Jefferson was twenty-eight and Jane Randolph was seventeen years of age when she promised to marry him, and, with her love and promise, he rode a hundred miles into the wilderness and bought a thousand acres of land on the banks of a stream then known as the River Anna. The name has since been shortened to Rivanna in local parlance. For two years he worked in the forest, cleared a few fields, built a cabin, and, when it was prepared to receive her, in 1738, he returned

to Dungeness, her father's estate, for his bride. Five years later—April 13, 1743—their third child was born, and they called him Thomas.

As he could find no site upon his own farm suitable for a permanent residence, Peter Jefferson persuaded his most intimate friend, William Randolph, who owned twenty-four hundred acres adjoining, to give him a sightly spot on the banks of the Rivanna, and the deed, still in possession of the family, shows that the price of the property was "Henry Weatherbourne's biggest bowl of arrack punch." By the intermarriage of their grandchildren the farms of Peter Jefferson and William Randolph ultimately became the property of Thomas Jefferson's daughter.

According to the fashion of the time, Peter Jefferson called his estate "Shadwell" as a compliment to his wife, for that was the name of the London parish in which she was born. William Randolph called his "Edgehill" in memory of the battle between the Cavaliers and Roundheads.

Peter Jefferson was famous for his great stature and physical strength. It is said that he could lift two hogsheads of tobacco—one with either arm,—and stories of his endurance are still told about the Virginia firesides. He had an inclination to literature, although, judged by the present standard, he was an uneducated man. Several volumes of Swift, the sermons of Dr. Doddridge, a full set of *The Spectator,* and a fine edition of Shakespeare constituted his library, and the books, which are still preserved, show much usage. When his son was six years old Peter Jefferson was appointed a commissioner to survey the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, and two years later, in connection with Joshua Fry, professor of mathematics in William and Mary College, he

made the first map of Virginia, excepting the rough sketch by Captain John Smith of 1609. He was a good manager, exact and conscientious in all of his transactions, and grew in wealth and reputation until he became the most influential man in the community and master of the largest estate. He was a vestryman of his parish, a strict adherent to the creed and ritual of the Church of England, and regarded the works of Dr. Doddridge as "more precious than gold; the best legacy I can leave my children." Dying in 1757, when he was but fifty years old and his son Thomas was fourteen, he left instructions for the latter's education, and especially enjoined upon the widow not to permit him to neglect "the exercise requisite for his bodie's developement." This strong man knew the value of strength, and used to say that a person of weak body could not have an independent mind.

Jefferson's father had a great influence over him. Of his mother we know very little. He spoke of his father frequently during his long life, always with pride and veneration, but does not seem to have had equal confidence in his mother, for in one of his letters he says, "At fourteen years of age the whole care and direction of myself was thrown on myself entirely, without a relative or friend qualified to advise or guide me." His mother's name appears but seldom in his voluminous writings. He never refers to her in his letters to his children, nor quotes her as he quotes his father; and one of the few references to her is found in his little pocket account-book, while he was at Philadelphia as a member of the first Congress:

"March 31, 1776. My mother died about eight o'clock this morning in the 57th year of her age."

His sister Jane, the eldest and the pride of the family, he refers to frequently with respect and affection. Her mind seems to have been sympathetic and her tastes similar to his, and she undoubtedly had a marked influence upon the formation of his character. She was his confidante and companion, and used to play accompaniments upon the harpsichord to his violin. He tells us that "Jane greatly excelled in singing the few fine old Psalm tunes which then constituted the musical repertoire of the Protestant world." It has been said that only five tunes were sung in the churches of Virginia for a century. Jane died in 1765, while Jefferson was studying law at Williamsburg, and her death was a keen blow to him. The tenderness with which he cherished her memory to the last days of his long and eventful career shows what a deep impression she made upon his youthful mind. Among his manuscripts after his death was found this Latin inscription, evidently intended for her epitaph:

"Ah, Joanna puellarum optima
Ah ævi virentis flore prærepta
Sit tibi terra lævis
Longe, longeque valeto."

When Jefferson became of age, in April, 1764, he was the richest, the most highly educated, and in every respect the most conspicuous young man in Albemarle County. In accordance with a venerable custom he celebrated the event by planting an avenue of trees in front of his mother's house, and several of them, locusts and sycamores, are still standing after an interval of one hundred and thirty-six years. He immediately recognized and assumed the responsibilities of his position, and within a few months was elected to two of his

father's offices, which seem to have been hereditary, —justice of the peace and vestryman of the parish. One of his contemporaries tells us that he was a fresh, bright, healthy-looking youth, with large feet and hands, red hair, freckled skin so tender that it blistered and peeled off after exposure to the wind or sun, hazel-gray eyes, prominent cheek-bones, and a heavy chin. His form "was as straight as a gun-barrel, sinewy and alert," and he cultivated his strength "by familiarity with saddle, gun, canoe, and minuet." He early showed an aversion to parade and ceremony, was scrupulously exact in matters of business, "preferred to wait upon himself rather than to receive the attentions of servants," showed perfect self-reliance, and had a strong taste for mathematics and mechanics. We are told that he was an inquisitive youth, and that when he discovered a neighbor or a stranger doing something he did not understand, he asked questions and observed the proceedings until his curiosity was fully gratified, and then usually made notes of his observations in a memorandum-book. His inquisitiveness was proverbial in the neighborhood, and a woman writing from Williamsburg in 1769 remarked that she "never knew anyone to ask so many questions as Thomas Jefferson." He writes of himself that the passions of his soul were music, mathematics, and architecture, and the traditions of his violin playing are numerous and amusing. When children we read in the school-books the anecdote of the old negro slave who notified him that his mother's house had been destroyed, but his fiddle had been saved. We know that he used to play violin duets with Patrick Henry, with his sister Jane, and with the pretty Widow Skelton, who afterwards became his wife. His biographers as-

"THE PINES"

(Present appearance of house of Mr. Wayles, where Jefferson was married)

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sure us that he was a fine performer upon the king of musical instruments, but grandmothers in Virginia, who heard the truth from the preceding generation, tell us the contrary, and quote an early authority as saying that Patrick Henry was the worst fiddler in the colony with the exception of Thomas Jefferson.

The first John Tyler, who was Governor of Virginia and father of President Tyler, was at one time a room-mate of Patrick Henry, and a tradition of the family is that Jefferson used to bring his violin and play with them; and in admiration of Mr. Tyler's fiddling he exclaimed one day,—

"Oh, John, if I only had your bow arm!"

John Randolph (not he of Roanoke, but the son of Sir John, the king's attorney-general) had a precious violin which he had bought in Italy. It was the one thing in all the world that Jefferson coveted most, and he did not relax his persistence until he had persuaded the owner to draw up an agreement in legal form, signed, sealed, and witnessed by George Wythe, Patrick Henry, and five others, and duly recorded in the general court at Williamsburg to this effect:

"It is agreed between John Randolph and Thomas Jefferson, that in case the said John shall survive the said Thomas, the executors of the said Thomas shall deliver to the said John the value of Eighty Pounds Sterling of the books of the said Thomas, the same to be chosen by the said John, and in case the said Thomas shall survive the said John, the executors of the said John shall deliver to the said Thomas the violin which the said John brought with him into Virginia, together with all his music composed for the violin."

To everybody but Jefferson this unique contract was a joke, but he was so lacking in the sense of humor and so earnest in his desire to possess the

instrument that he took it seriously, and added a codicil to his will, which, with characteristic exactness, he had written as soon as he became of age, providing for the fulfilment of the compact by his executors, and bequeathing a hundred pounds to "the said John as evidence of my respect and affection."

But Jefferson was not compelled to wait so long as he expected. When the revolutionary spirit became violent John Randolph, who held an office under the king and had made himself offensive to the colonists in the performance of his duties as attorney-general, found it to his comfort and advantage to return to England. Before going he sold the violin to Jefferson for thirteen pounds, in August, 1775. From that day Jefferson carried the instrument with him wherever he went, practised upon it in Philadelphia while he was attending his duties as a member of Congress and Secretary of State, took it to France when he went as minister, and occasionally played an old-fashioned air upon it while he was President.

He never lost his love for music. He had an opportunity to cultivate his taste while in Europe, and enjoyed a personal acquaintance with the great musicians of that period. After his retirement in 1809 he wrote one of them: "If there is a gratification which I envy any people in this world, it is to your country (France) for its music. This is the favorite passion of my soul, and fortune has cast my lot in a country where it is in a state of deplorable barbarism."

Notwithstanding his serious disposition, Jefferson was fond of gossip, the man as well as the boy. He kept up a voluminous correspondence to the end of his days with friends in Paris, and, although he did not see some of them for forty years, re-

tained his interest in their affairs and showed an affectionate solicitude for their welfare. And he was sometimes pleased to be gay. He paid compliments with the skill of a courtier, but there are only two glimpses of humor in all his correspondence. One of them is an anecdote of Arthur Lee, who, he says, was a most "disputatious" man and "always contradicted everybody." Once when a gentleman observed in his hearing that it was a very cloudy day, Lee retorted, "It is cloudy, sir; but not very cloudy."

While he was minister to France a lady in the United States had the courage to commission Jefferson to buy her a pair of corsets, but failed to send the dimensions. He exercised his best judgment and sent them with a playful letter: "Should they be too small," he says, "you will be good enough to lay them by a while. There are ebbs as well as flows in this world. When the mountain refused to come to Mahomet, he went to the mountain."

Even while President, overwhelmed with the cares and perplexities of his office, he gossiped continually through the mails with his daughters in Virginia, giving and receiving items of personal interest concerning the people he met and the friends they knew, and he was as eager as a school-girl to receive a budget of news from home.

"If there is any news stirring in town or county," he wrote, "let me know it." And again he begged of his daughter to "write me all the small news, who marry and who hang themselves because they cannot marry." His letters to his children and grandchildren are full of admonition, but bubble over with love and treat of the lightest and most trivial domestic topics. One wonders how a man of Jefferson's serious nature and over-

whelming cares could find time to discuss with a child the dates upon which the first arbutus is found in the spring upon the hill-side, the first appearance of the hyacinth, and the number of buds upon a favorite rose-bush. Between those lines are serious references to political affairs, comments upon events in Europe and America, newly discovered interests, and the progress of science. Listen to his gossip with his daughter even while he was President: "A person here has invented the prettiest improvement in the forte-piano I have ever seen. It has tempted me to engage one for Monticello; partly for its excellence and convenience, partly to assist a very ingenious, modest and poor young man. There is really no business which ought to keep us one fortnight. I am therefore looking forward with anticipation of joy of seeing you again ere long. Politics are such a torment that I would advise every one I love not to mix with them. Kiss all the dear little ones for me. Do not let Ellen forget me."

The great statesman was not above the art of playing upon the credulity of his grandchildren. He wrote one of them that if she injured a mocking-bird or its nest she would always be haunted by its ghost. He told another to take good care of her silkworms, because she could never get married until they had spun enough silk for her wedding-gown. While President of the United States he writes his daughter: "I sincerely congratulate you upon the arrival of the mocking-bird. Learn all the children to venerate it as a superior being in the form of a bird, or as a being which will haunt them if any harm is done to itself or its eggs. We had peaches and Indian corn the 12th instant. When did they begin with you?"

Jefferson was an ardent and sentimental lover,

and his egotism appears in his love-affairs in a most amusing way. He adored several young women from time to time; such behavior is not uncommon among men of his youth; and to one of them,—Belinda,—when about twenty, he confessed his love, but explained that he could not positively engage himself to marry anyone for the present because it would interfere with his studies and his plans for a trip to Europe; he intimated that it might be profitable for her to await his pleasure and convenience, as he expected sooner or later to renew his suit openly. We do not know what Belinda said in reply to this extraordinary proposition, but she evidently did not estimate the value of his affections so highly, for she promptly married another. Sometimes he refers to her in his diaries and letters as Bee-lin-day, or as "Campana-in-die" (bell in day); then he writes her name in Greek, and often spells it backward,—Adnileb. He took her marriage rather hard. "Last night," he writes one of his confidants, "as merry, as agreeable a company and dancing with Belinda in the Appollo could make me, I never thought the succeeding sun would have seen me so wretched as I am."

He was soon consoled by the attractions of a young woman named Rebecca Burwell,—some think that she and Belinda are the same person. He writes to John Page, one of his classmates, saying: "Write me everything that happened at the wedding. Was she (Rebecca Burwell) there? because if she was I ought to be at the devil for not being there too. If there is any news stirring in the town or country such as deaths, courtships or marriages in the circle of my acquaintance let me know it."

Again he writes: "What have you done since

I saw you? What can I do but ask you the news of the world? How did Nancy look when you danced with her at Southall's? Have you any glimmering of hope? How does R. B. (Rebecca Burwell) do? Had I better stay here and do nothing or go down and do less? Inclination tells me to go, receive my sentence and be no longer in suspense, but reason says if you go, and if your attempt proves unsuccessful you will be ten times more wretched than before;" and to another friend:

"Dear Will, I have thought of the cleverest plan of life that can be imagined. You exchange your land for Edgehill and I mine for Fairfields. You marry S. P. and I marry R. B., join and get a pole chair, and a keen pair of horses, practice law in the same court and drive about to all the dames in the country together. How do you like it?"

He built a "full-rigged flat," as he termed it, on the river, and named it "The Rebecca," but she jilted him before it was launched, and there is no further reference to the enterprise. Rebecca Burwell married Jacquelin Ambler, who afterwards became State treasurer and was called "The Aristides of Virginia," because he was just; and John Marshall, Chief-Justice of the United States, married their daughter. It is a curious coincidence that his brother, Edward Ambler, married Miss Cary, who rejected Washington.

It came within the power of Jefferson to do friendly service for the husband of his former sweetheart on several occasions, and when her father, who at the time of her marriage was one of the richest and proudest men in Virginia, became impoverished in his old age, it is said that Jefferson secured for him an appointment as tipstaff in one of the courts.

There were others also. Patsy Dandridge, Betsy Page, and two or three other young ladies are frequently referred to in his youthful correspondence as objects of admiration, but there is no evidence that they were more than friends. Miss Molly Elliott Seawell says that a fly-leaf of an old book in the library of the late Boswell Seawell, of Gloucester County, Virginia, contains the following inscription said to be in the handwriting of Jefferson:

> "Jane Nelson is a neat girl
> Betsy Page is a sweet girl
> Rebecca Burwell is the devil.
> If not the devil, she's one of his imps."

Among Jefferson's associates at the Williamsburg bar was John Wayles, a lawyer of large practice who had a fine estate on the edge of the town called "The Forest," a dozen plantations, large tracts of wild land in various parts of the colony, and over four hundred slaves. His widowed daughter, Martha Skelton, a famous beauty fond of admiration and music, lived with him, and Jefferson was in the habit of taking his violin out to "The Forest" of an evening to play duets with her. Their acquaintance extended over three or four years. She was a widow in 1768. He first mentions his love for her in 1770, and they were married on New Year's Day, 1772. He left a number of letters concerning his courtship of the pretty widow with the pretty fortune which indicate that he was scarcely off with an old love before he was on with the new, and had considerable vexation in adjusting his conduct to the satisfaction of his own conscience. The story goes that he was spurred into an engagement with Martha Skelton by the rivalry of two friends, with

whom he came to an understanding that they should draw cuts for the first proposal. If the first were rejected, he was to retire and give the next a chance, and if number two were not accepted, the third was at liberty to propose. Jefferson drew number one and started for the Wayles plantation. His rivals followed him and hung over the hedge, listening to the music as he played duets with his inamorata. They concluded from the joyful tones of his instrument that his wooing was successful and walked home disconsolate.

The license-bond for the marriage required by the laws of Virginia was written in Jefferson's own hand, and is signed by him with Francis Eppes, a neighbor, whose son afterwards married Jefferson's daughter, as surety. He must have been a little nervous or absent-minded at the time, for he described his bride as "a spinster." Somebody corrected the mistake by running a pen through "spinster" and writing the word "widow" over it; but Jefferson was not so agitated that he neglected to set down in his account-book every item of expenditure in connection with his wedding. We find that he "loaned Mrs. Skelton ten shillings" two days before the ceremony; paid forty shillings for the marriage-license; gave five pounds to the Reverend Mr. Coutts, the minister who married them; and then borrowed twenty shillings from the parson before the close of the day. He gave ten shillings to the fiddler, and five shillings to each of the servants of the household.

On one of the early days in January the newly married pair started in a two-horse chaise from "The Forest" for Monticello, their future abode, more than a hundred miles distant.

The mansion was half built when Jefferson took his bride home. They drove from Williamsburg,

Know all men by these presents that we Thomas Jefferson and Francis Eppes are held and firmly bound to our sovereign lord the king his heirs and successors in the sum of fifty pounds current money of Virginia, to the paiment of which well and truly to be made we bind ourselves jointly and severally, our joint and several heirs executors and administrators. in witness whereof we have hereto set our hands and seals this twenty third day of December in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy one

The condition of the above obligation is such that if there be no lawful cause to obstruct a marriage intended to be had and solemnized between the above bound Thomas Jefferson and Martha Shelton of the county of Charles city, ~~widow~~ widow, for which a license is desired, then this obligation is to be null and void; otherwise to remain in full force.

FAC-SIMILE OF JEFFERSON'S MARRIAGE BOND

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a distance of at least one hundred miles, and arrived in the midst of a fearful blizzard. He tells in his diary that the snow was more than two feet deep in the road, and that his horse had a desperate struggle to haul them through. They spent their first night in a little brick house that is still standing, attached to the slave quarters, and lived there until the mansion was habitable.

About a year after his marriage the death of his father-in-law brought him forty thousand acres of land and one hundred and thirty-five slaves. The Natural Bridge, eighty miles from Monticello, was included in the property, and Jefferson, who considered it one of the greatest wonders in the world, planned to build there a hermitage to which he could retire in seclusion at will for rest and study. He speaks of his wife's father in these terms: "Mr. Wayles was a lawyer of much practice to which he was introduced more by his industry, punctuality and practical readiness, than by eminence in the science of his profession. He was a most agreeable companion, full of pleasantry and humor, and welcomed in every society. He acquired a handsome fortune, and died in May, 1773, leaving three daughters. The fortune which came on that event to Mrs. Jefferson, after the debts were paid, which was very considerable, was about equal to my own patrimony, and consequently doubled the ease of our circumstances."

Although everything that concerned her has an interest, we know very little about Mrs. Jefferson, except that she was a jealous woman, because on her deathbed she exacted from her husband a promise that he would never remarry. Edward Bacon, the manager of the plantation, tells the story in these words: "When Mrs. Jefferson died, Mr. Jefferson sat by her, and she gave him directions

about a good many things that she wanted done. When she came to the children she wept, and could not speak for some time. Finally she held up her hand, and spreading out her four fingers she told him that she could not die happy if she thought her four children were ever to have a step-mother brought in over them. Holding her other hand in his, Mr. Jefferson promised her solemnly that he would never be married again. And he never did."

Visitors to Monticello have described her as "a beautiful woman,—her countenance brilliant with color and expression, luxuriant auburn hair, somewhat tall, of a very graceful figure, but too delicate for the wear and tear of this troublesome world. She has an educated mind and a taste for higher literature. Her skill in playing the harpsichord and her voice in singing are said to be remarkable." She had six children, all of them girls. The first child, Martha, and the fourth, Mary, alone survived infancy. Years after her death six of the women-slaves of the house enjoyed an honorable distinction at Monticello as "the servants who were in the room when Mrs. Jefferson died."

Jefferson declined an appointment from Congress as commissioner to France with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane in October, 1776, because of his wife's health. He kept the messenger waiting several days before he could make up his mind to reject a mission that promised so much honor, usefulness, and pleasure, but Mrs. Jefferson was too ill to go with him, and his anxiety was so great that he would not leave her.

After his death there were found in a drawer in his room among other souvenirs three little packages containing locks of the hair of his de-

ceased wife, his daughter, Mrs. Eppes, and an infant child he had lost. In his own handwriting the latter was marked "A lock of our first Lucy's hair with some of my dear wife's writing," and it contained a few strands of silken hair evidently taken from the head of a very young infant. Another, marked simply "Lucy," contained a beautiful golden curl. He wrote the following epitaph for his wife's tomb:

"To the memory of Martha Jefferson,
Daughter of John Wayles,
Born October 19th, 1748 O. S.;
Intermarried with Thomas Jefferson January 1st, 1772;
Torn from him by death September 6th, 1782:

"If in the melancholy shades below,
The flames of friends and lovers cease to glow,
Yet mine shall sacred last; mine undecayed
Burn on through death and animate my shade."

These four lines appear in Greek in the original.

The death of his wife was a shocking blow to Jefferson. She was a congenial companion, and not only sympathized with his political and intellectual tastes, but possessed sagacity and social attractions which furnished a powerful reinforcement for his ability and skill. It was many years after her death before Monticello recovered its gayety, but when his daughters grew up he returned to social life, and according to the gossips the widower was the hero of several love-affairs, although he never again seriously contemplated marriage. At one time, according to local traditions, he was challenged to fight a duel concerning a lady in the neighborhood, but declined to do so because her jealous husband was of inferior social standing.

Jefferson's tenderness and solicitude for his two little motherless girls was the most beautiful trait

of his character. No one who has ever loved a child can read his correspondence with them without emotion. Every sentence reveals the depth of his affection, and his anxiety that they should be good and wise appears in every letter. "Goodness," he says, "is the greatest treasure of human beings. If you love me strive to be good under every situation and to all living creatures, and to acquire those accomplishments which I have put into your power." "The more you learn, the more I love you," he said at another time, "and I rest the happiness of my life on seeing you beloved by all the world, which you will sure to be if to a good heart, you join the accomplishments so pleasing in your sex;" and it was a little unusual for a father whose mind was absorbed in such serious thoughts as appear in the Declaration of Independence, to write to a little girl on July 1, 1776, "Remember not to go out without your bonnet, because it will make you very ugly and then we shall not love you so much." Again he writes: "If ever you are about to say anything amiss, or to do anything wrong, consider beforehand. You will feel something within you which will tell you it is wrong and ought not to be said or done. This is your conscience and be sure and obey it. Our Maker has given us all this faithful internal monitor, and if you always obey it you will always be prepared for the end of the world, or for a much more certain event which is death. This must happen to us all. It puts an end to the world as to us, and the way to be ready for it is never to do a wrong act."

A short time after Mrs. Jefferson's death, Congress for the third time appointed him an envoy to assist Franklin and Adams in negotiating peace, and he was at liberty to accept. He left Mary, or

"Polly," as he called her, his youngest child, with her aunt, Mrs. Eppes, in Virginia, and took Martha, then in her eleventh year, to the school of Mrs. Hopkinson in Philadelphia, where she remained until she sailed with him to Europe. One of his letters to Martha, or "Patsy," was among the most precious autographs in the celebrated collection of Queen Victoria, and was frequently shown by her to Americans who were entertained at Windsor Castle. Aaron Vail, the chargé d'affaires of the United States at the Court of St. James, was commanded by Queen Victoria to procure for her an autograph of the great American statesman. He transmitted the request to Mrs. Randolph, who sent the Queen of England the following characteristic letter written to herself in 1783:

"My dear Patsy:—The acquirements which I hope you will make under the tutors I have provided for you will render you more worthy of my love. With respect to the distribution of your time, the following is what I should approve:

"From 8 to 10, practice music.

"From 10 to 1 dance one day and draw another.

"From 1 to 2 draw on the day you dance and write a letter next day.

"From 3 to 4 read French.

"From 4 to 5 exercise yourself in music.

"From 5 till bedtime read English, write, etc.

"I expect you to write me by every post. Inform me what books you read, what tunes you learn and enclose me your best copy of every lesson in drawing. Take care that you never spell a word wrong. Always before you write a word, consider how it is spelt, and if you do not remember it, turn to a dictionary. It produces great praise to a lady to spell well. I place my happiness on seeing you good and accomplished."

Jefferson was always preaching industry to his children. "Learn" and "Labor" were his constant admonitions. He says: "It is your future happiness which interests me, and nothing can contribute more to it (moral rectitude always ex-

cepted) than the contracting a habit of industry and activity. Of all the cankers of human happiness none corrodes with so silent, yet so baneful an influence as indolence. Body and mind, both unemployed, one becomes a burthen, and every object about us loathsome, even the dearest. Idleness begets ennui, ennui the hypochondriac, and that a diseased body. No laborious person was ever yet hysterical. Exercise and application produce order in our affairs, health of body and cheerfulness of mind, and these make us precious to our friends." "Walking is the best possible exercise," he said. "Habituate yourself to walking very far. There is no habit you will value so much as that of walking."

"Patsy," afterwards Mrs. Randolph, was placed in a convent near Paris to be educated. Her father visited her frequently, and continued his correspondence, writing almost every day. He says in one of his letters: "If at any moment, my dear, you catch yourself in idleness, start from it as you would from the precipice of a gulf. You are not however to consider yourself unemployed while taking exercise. That is necessary for your health, and health is the first of all objects. For this reason, if you leave your dancing master for the summer you must increase your other exercise. Nobody in this world can make me so happy or so miserable as you. Retirement from public life will ere long become necessary for me. To your sister and yourself I look to render the evening of my life serene and contented. Its morning has been crowded by loss after loss, till I have nothing left but you."

When he became convinced that his stay in Paris was likely to be prolonged he sent for "Polly," and wrote Mrs. Eppes the most exacting and de-

tailed instructions as to the preparations and arrangements for her voyage. Among other curious ideas, she was to be sent upon a ship that had made at least one voyage, but was not more than five years old. "I think it would be found," he wrote, "that all the vessels which are lost are either lost on their first voyage or else after they are five years old." Mr. Eppes discovered such a vessel as Jefferson wanted, and "Polly," with her colored "mammy," was sent in care of the captain to Mrs. John Adams, who was then in London with her husband. She kept the child for several weeks until she found an opportunity and a proper escort to Paris and became very much attached to her, describing her as a child of remarkable beauty, vivacity, and intelligence. In the meantime Jefferson writes to Patsy, the oldest sister: "Our dear Polly will certainly come to us this summer. She will become a precious charge on your hands. Teach her above all things to be good, because without that we can neither be valued by others nor set any value on ourselves. Teach her always to be true; no vice is so mean as the want of truth; and at the same time so useless. Teach her never to be angry; anger only serves to torment ourselves, to divert others, and alienate their esteem. And teach her industry and application to useful pursuits. A mind always employed is always happy. This is the true secret, the grand recipe for felicity. The idle are the only wretched."

"Patsy" was a very impressionable child, and became so alarmed because of her obligations to a sinful world that she decided to become a nun. Her father was naturally startled when he received a tearful request for permission to take the veil, but he acted with great tact. He did not reply

to the note. He sent for her to come to the legation in Paris, where, without waiting to complete her education, he immediately introduced her, a girl of seventeen, into the brilliant scenes of the court of Louis XVI., where she soon forgot her pious plans. Years afterwards Mrs. Randolph told this incident to her children, and said that no allusion to the subject was ever made either by her father or herself.

Martha Jefferson was a very accomplished woman, speaking several languages, being a fine musician, and having a highly cultivated mind. Few American women at that day enjoyed her educational advantages. John Randolph of Roanoke, that irrepressible enthusiast, who was no relation to her husband, once toasted her as "the noblest woman in Virginia." Neither she nor her sister attended Jefferson when he went to Washington to become President, and they spent very little time at the White House, although the husbands of both were members of the House of Representatives during his administration. Mrs. Eppes was in poor health, and Mrs. Randolph had the responsibility of eleven children upon her mind, which did not permit long absences from home. During the winter of 1802-3, and again in the winter of 1805-6, she spent several months in Washington, and her accomplishments and the grace and dignity with which she presided at the White House are frequently alluded to by letter-writers of that period. She was especially gifted as a musician. Her taste and talent had been developed under the instruction of the best teachers in Paris. Mrs. Eppes died in 1803, the second year of Jefferson's Presidency. In the absence of his daughters Jefferson was assisted in performing the social duties of his office by Mrs. Madison,

MRS. MARTHA RANDOLPH, DAUGHTER OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

(Painted by Thomas Sully)

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wife of the Secretary of State, and her sister, Miss Payne, who afterwards married Dr. Cutts.

In February, 1790, Martha married her second cousin, Thomas Mann Randolph, the great-grandson of Isham Randolph, who was also her great-grandfather. The wedding took place at Monticello with great ceremony just before Jefferson started for New York to assume the office of Secretary of State. The groom was practically brought up in the family. He was with them for two years in Paris and completed his education under Jefferson's direction at the University of Edinburgh. He was handsome, wealthy, popular, and of aristocratic tendencies; an able politician, a useful member of Congress, and left an excellent record as Governor of Virginia; but he was a spendthrift and inclined to convivial habits. He spent money rapidly but made none, and lived upon the principal of his estates, selling a slave or a piece of land, an ox or a horse, whenever he needed money.

Jefferson's overseer, Edward Bacon, gossips about him freely in his reminiscences. "I often loaned him money," he says, "and he often applied to me to help him raise it from others. When he must have it and could get it no other way, he would sell one of his negroes. Here is a characteristic note signed by Randolph:

"DEAR SIR: It is absolutely necessary to me to have as much as $150 by tomorrow evening, to send by express to pay into the Bank of U. S. and Bank of Virginia in Richmond, before three o'clock on Wednesday next, that I am forced, against my will, to importune you farther with the offer of the little girl at Edgehill."

"I raised the money for him," continued Bacon, "and the next day paid him two hundred dollars for Edy. She was a little girl four years old. He

was finally unable to meet his obligations, failed completely, and lost everything. Mr. Jefferson, in making his will, had to take especial care to prevent Mr. Randolph's creditors from getting what property he left to Mrs. Randolph. Before he died his mind became shattered and he pretty much lost his reason. He had no control of his temper. I have seen him cane his son Jeff. after he was a grown man. Jeff. made no resistance, but got away from him as soon as he could. I have seen him knock down his son-in-law, Charles I. Bankhead, with an iron poker. Bankhead married his daughter Anne. She was a Jefferson in temper. He was the son of a very wealthy man who lived near Fredericksburg. Bankhead was a fine-looking man, but a terrible drunkard. I have seen him ride his horse into the barroom at Charlottesville and get a drink of liquor. I have seen his wife run from him when he was drunk and hide in a potato-hole to get out of danger."

Jefferson describes his son-in-law in different terms from those used by his overseer, and says that he was "a man of science, sense, virtue and competent," which shows how differently people and things look from opposite points of view. Thomas Mann Randolph served in Congress from 1803 to 1807, and during the latter part of Jefferson's Presidency he resented an attack of John Randolph of Roanoke with such vigor as to provoke a challenge for a duel, which the President is supposed to have prevented. The circumstances are related in another chapter. He fought in the War of 1812 as a colonel of infantry. In 1819 he was elected Governor of Virginia and served two terms with an excellent record. His death, Bacon says, was due to exposure while riding in a storm, "his generosity having prompted him to give his

cloak to a poor person he found ill clothed on the highway."

Bacon, who speaks so frankly of the family in his "Reminiscences," was a great admirer of Mrs. Randolph. He says she was the best woman he ever knew. "Few such women ever lived. I never saw her equal. I was with Mr. Jefferson twenty years and I never saw her out of temper. I can truly say that I never saw two such persons in this respect as she and her father. I have rode over the plantation, I reckon, a thousand times with Mr. Jefferson, and when he was not talking he was nearly always humming some tune or singing in a low tone to himself. And it was just so with Mrs. Randolph. I have never seen her at all disturbed by any amount of care and trouble."

After she was driven from Monticello Mrs. Randolph remained in Charlottesville for a time and then went to the home of her daughter, Mrs. Joseph Coolidge, in Boston. She made a claim upon the government for twelve hundred dollars alleged to be due to the estate of Thomas Jefferson, but it was not allowed. She prepared to open a school to earn her living, when she was presented with a purse of twenty thousand dollars by the Legislatures of North Carolina and Louisiana. Upon this slender capital she settled in Washington in 1829 and lived there quietly until her death in 1836.

Mrs. Randolph had six daughters and five sons, —Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Benjamin Franklin, Meriwether Lewis, George Wythe, Anne, Ellen, Virginia, Cornelia, and Septimia. Anne married the Mr. Bankhead alluded to by Bacon in such unfavorable terms; Ellen married Joseph Coolidge, of Boston, and was the mother of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, the millionaire manu-

facturer and diplomatist,—one of the most eminent and influential citizens of New England; Virginia married Nicholas P. Trist; Septimia married Dr. Meikleham, of Scotland; Cornelia and Mary died unmarried; Thomas Jefferson married Jane, the daughter of Governor N. C. Nicholas, of Virginia, and his daughter, Miss C. R. Randolph, owns the old family seat, "Edgehill," near Charlottesville, Virginia, where she still resides. Meriwether Lewis married Elizabeth Martin, of Tennessee; George Wythe married Mary Pope, of Virginia; James Madison and Benjamin Franklin died in early manhood, unmarried.

Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the favorite grandson, was educated by Jefferson at Philadelphia. There is a little glimpse of paternal pride and affection in a letter written to Dr. Wistar, of Philadelphia, in whose charge "Jeff." was placed while he was pursuing his studies in natural science. On his way through Washington, he stopped at the White House with his grandfather for several days. The President of the United States examined the contents of his trunk, made out a list of articles that he needed, and gave him the money to purchase them when he arrived at his destination. "Jeff." relieved Bacon as manager of the estate at Monticello, and continued in charge of affairs until after Jefferson's death, when he settled the estate and paid the creditors what was lacking out of his own pocket to save the family honor. He was also the literary executor of his grandfather, edited his correspondence, and took charge of his manuscripts.

At his grandfather's request he entered politics and served in the Legislature of Virginia for more than twenty years. In 1832 he introduced a bill to abolish slavery on the plan so often suggested

by Jefferson, that slave children born after a certain date should be free. In 1842 he was the author of a bill and the chairman of a committee to reform the finances of the State, which at that time were in great confusion. He performed the duty with great ability and judgment, and afterwards wrote a book entitled "Sixty Years' Reminiscences of the Currency of the United States." He was a member of the convention that revised the Constitution of Virginia in 1851-2. He was a Visitor of the State University for thirty-one years, and Rector of that institution for seven years. He went into the Confederacy and held the military rank of colonel during the Civil War, although he saw very little service. From his great-grandfather, Peter Jefferson, he inherited enormous stature and physical strength as well as integrity of purpose. When over eighty years of age he presided at the Baltimore Convention which nominated Horace Greeley as Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and died in 1875 at the age of eighty-six.

Mary Jefferson, or "Polly," as she was always alluded to in her father's letters, married her cousin, John Wayles Eppes, familiarly known as "Jack," who, like the other son-in-law, was brought up in Jefferson's family and was very dear to him. His manners were frank and engaging, he was highly educated, and particularly pleasing in conversation, while his character was in every way worthy of the high opinion that Jefferson frequently expresses concerning him. He and his bride were children together, and at seventeen she promised to be his wife. The Duke de la Rochefoucauld, who visited Monticello in 1796, gives us a pretty picture of this maiden and her lover. "Miss Maria," he calls her, "constantly resides with her father; but as she is seventeen years old

and remarkably handsome, she will doubtless soon find that there are duties which it is sweeter to perform than those of a daughter." She must have been of lovely character, for while she was lying ill and shortly before her death Jefferson wrote her from Philadelphia: "You have never by word or deed given me a moment's uneasiness. On the contrary I have felt a perpetual gratitude to Heaven for having given me in you a source of so much pure and unmixed happiness. Go on then, my dear, as you have done, deserving the love of everybody."

"Jack" Eppes served five terms in Congress and was elected to the United States Senate, but after two years in that body he was compelled to resign on account of ill-health and died shortly after.

Jefferson's only other relative living at this time was a sister, Anne, married to a poor farmer by the name of Marks, who lived down in the lower part of the State. For a period of thirty years Jefferson never failed to send a carriage to bring her to Monticello to spend the hot months of the summer, and after her husband's death gave her a home there. In his will was found this touching remembrance: "I recommend to my daughter, Martha Randolph, the maintenance and care of my well beloved sister Anne Scott, and trust confidently that from affection for her as well as for my sake, she will never let her want for comfort." It is needless to say that this trust was faithfully fulfilled, and when Mrs. Randolph left Monticello, the same roof that sheltered her, sheltered her aunt.

When Jefferson returned to his home at the close of his Presidency he found himself bankrupt, and the soil of his farm practically exhausted because of improper cultivation. The cares of the estate

being too great a burden for him at his advanced age, he gladly handed them over to his grandson, "Jeff." Randolph, who until the day of his death interposed himself so far as possible between his grandfather and the financial ruin which the circumstances made unavoidable. Jefferson was too sanguine to realize the depth of his embarrassments. He was not an improvident man; he had habits of order and economy, and his exactness in keeping his accounts was extraordinary; but the salaries of the various offices he held seldom paid the expenses incidental to his position. As minister to France and as President he was constantly exceeding his income. Shortly before the expiration of his Presidential term he wrote to a friend that he had already expended seven or eight thousand dollars of his private funds for the expenses of the White House.

He was the soul of hospitality and was continually imposed upon. One of his granddaughters has written a description of the daily life at Monticello which suggests the drain upon his resources. She says that his "visitors came of all nations at all times, and paid longer or shorter visits. I have known a New England judge to bring a letter of introduction to my grandfather, and stay three weeks. The learned Abbe Correa, always a welcome guest, passed some weeks of each year with us during the whole time of his stay in the country. We had persons from abroad, from all the states of the union, from every part of the state,—men, women and children. In short, almost every day, for at least eight months in the year, brought its contingent of guests. People of wealth, fashion, men in office, professional men, military and civil, lawyers, doctors, Protestant clergymen, Catholic priests, members of Congress, foreign ministers,

missionaries, Indian agents, tourists, travellers, artists, strangers, friends. Some came from affection and respect, some from curiosity, some to give or receive advice or instruction, some from idleness, some because others set the example, and very varied, amusing and agreeable was the society afforded by this influx of guests."

Bacon says: "He knew that it more than used up all his income from the plantation and everything else, but he was so kind and polite that he received all his visitors with a smile, and made them welcome. They pretended to come out of respect and regard for him, but I think that the fact that they saved a tavern bill had a good deal to do with it with a good many of them. They ate him out of house and home. They were there at all times of the year; but about the middle of June the travel would commence from the lower part of the state to the springs and then there would be a perfect throng of visitors."

When Jefferson was finally convinced of his hopeless bankruptcy he decided upon a sacrifice which none but his own family, who witnessed the struggle it cost him, could ever fully appreciate. This was the offer of his library to the government at whatever price Congress should decide to be just. Next to his children he loved his books, and in letters written at this time he bemoans in pitiful language the distress of mind which their sale cost him.

Congress was not liberal. The value of the collection which Jefferson had been fifty years in making was admitted; his financial necessities were well understood, and it was repeatedly stated, to his mortification, that he was making this sacrifice to protect his financial honor. It was also repeatedly explained that Jefferson's debts were

due solely to the fact that he had neglected his private interests in the performance of his public duties; but none of these arguments had any influence upon Congress, which drove a sharp bargain for the books, and finally paid twenty-three thousand nine hundred and fifty dollars, a sum estimated to be about one-half of their auction value.

The money was paid to Jefferson's creditors. The drafts on the United States Treasury simply passed through his hands, and it was but a drop in the bucket. His grandson was his endorser for fifty-eight thousand five hundred and thirty-six dollars, and a commission merchant in Charlottesville was his debtor to about half that amount. Just at the time when his grandson was endeavoring to secure an honorable settlement, Jefferson's affairs were still further complicated by the failure of one of his personal friends for whom he had endorsed heavily, ex-Governor Wilson C. Nicholas, whose daughter Thomas Jefferson Randolph married. This added to the total of his liabilities, but the same result must have ensued had it not occurred. It is gratifying to know that Jefferson's relations with his unfortunate friend were not in the least disturbed, and that the latter by the sale of land was able to cancel more than half of his indebtedness. The extent of Mr. Jefferson's liabilities may be judged by the fact that after his death it was found that his debts exceeded his assets by about forty thousand dollars, and to the honor of his family every dollar was finally paid by Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the executor of his estate.

Jefferson had not recovered from the distress of mind and mortification due to the sale of his library when he yielded to the advice of his friends

and again made himself an object of reproach as well as of charity. He applied to the Legislature of Virginia for permission to dispose of Monticello by lottery, which, he wrote his friend, J. C. Cabell, then a member of the Legislature, "may pay my debts and leave a living for myself in my old age and leave something for my family." He drew up a paper under the title of "Thoughts on Lotteries" for presentation to the Legislature. It contained a review of various precedents, an argument to prove that there could be nothing immoral in such a disposition of his estate, a statement of his own necessities, and a review of the sixty-one years he had spent in the public service. He says, "Every one knows how inevitably a Virginia estate goes to ruin when the owner is so far distant as to be unable to pay attention to it himself; and the more especially when the line of his employment is of a character to abstract and alienate his mind entirely from the knowledge necessary to good and even to saving management."

Great as the mortification was to Jefferson, it was suffered without result. The Legislature declined to grant his request, and he was attacked in the most vicious manner from every direction. An attempt was made to secure the passage of a bill to loan him eighty thousand dollars from the State Treasury. That was defeated also. But Jefferson was not without friends. Public meetings were held throughout the State in his behalf, petitions and memorials were addressed to the Legislature, and contributions came from other States and cities, but none from Virginia. Philip Hone, Mayor of New York, raised eight thousand five hundred dollars; five thousand dollars was sent from Philadelphia; three thousand from Balti-

more, and after his death the Legislatures of South Carolina and Louisiana each made an appropriation of ten thousand dollars for the benefit of his only surviving daughter, Mrs. Randolph, who was left entirely destitute; but not a dollar was contributed by the State nor by any individual in Virginia, so far as appears in the records. Six months after his death the furniture, the china, and the decorations of Monticello were advertised for sale at public auction. The only daughter of the father of the Democratic party was compelled to go forth into the world penniless, and never crossed the threshold of her old home again.

In the spring of 1826 Jefferson was attacked with diarrhœa, to which he had been subject for several years, and, as he grew weaker, he realized that his end was near. He spoke freely of his approaching death with all the members of his family and the servants; spent a certain time each day with his grandson, giving directions in regard to his private affairs, and with Madison concerning the management of the University. During the night of the second of July he was overcome with what his doctor calls a stupor, but about seven o'clock on the evening of the third, as Dr. Dunglison, one of the professors in the University, entered his room, he seemed to recover consciousness, and remarked,—

"Oh, doctor, are you still there?" Then he asked, "Is this the fourth?"

Those were his last words. From that time he was unconscious, and about one o'clock on the fourth of July he passed away. It is an interesting historical coincidence that his life-long friend, John Adams, died at Quincy, Massachusetts, at almost exactly the same hour.

On his marriage, in 1772, Jefferson received,

as his wife's dower, property which was valued at forty thousand dollars, but with a British debt on it of thirteen thousand dollars. He sold land to pay this debt, and the Virginia Legislature having passed a resolution to the effect that the State would protect whoever would deposit in the State Treasury the amount of their British debts, he deposited the proceeds in the Treasury. This resolution was afterwards rescinded, and the money was returned in Treasury certificates. The depreciation was so great, that the value of those received by Jefferson was laid out in an overcoat; so that in after years, when riding by the farm which he had sold to procure the thirteen thousand dollars deposited in the State Treasury, he would smile and say, "I sold that farm for an overcoat."

Jefferson's will was written in his own hand. He divided his property as fairly as possible between Francis, the son of his deceased daughter, Mary Eppes, and his surviving daughter, Martha. Her share, including Monticello, was placed in control of trustees with every possible restriction to keep it from the creditors of her husband. He gave James Madison his favorite gold-mounted walking-stick "as a token of the cordial and affectionate friendship, which for half a century has united us in the same principles and pursuits of what we have deemed for the greatest good of our country." He gave his library to the University of Virginia with the condition that the duplicates were to be divided between Joseph Coolidge and Nicholas C. Trist, who married his granddaughters. To Thomas Jefferson Randolph he left all his papers and records, which were found to be carefully filed away in proper order, and his silver watch "instead of the gold one, because of its superior excellence." To each of his other

grandchildren he gave a gold watch, and to his household servants their freedom, under conditions that are described in another chapter.

The funeral services were simple and impressive according to his explicit directions, and Dorsey, the gardener, dug a grave beside that of Dabney Carr, the friend of his boyhood. "Choose some unfrequented vale," he said, in giving directions for the family cemetery, "in a park where there is no sound to break the stillness but a brook that bubbling, winds among the woods,—no mark of human shape that has been there, unless the skeleton of some poor wretch who sought that place out to despair and die in. Let it be among ancient and venerable oaks, interspersed by some gloomy evergreens. Appropriate one half to the use of my family, the other to strangers, servants etc. Let the exit look upon a small and distant part of the Blue Mountains."

Thomas Jefferson Randolph erected a monument in this little cemetery the year after his grandfather's death; it was chipped away by relic hunters, and in 1851 was replaced by another of the same pattern, paid for by the professors of the University. During the Civil War this was carried off in small bits in the pockets of visitors. The estate was allowed to fall into decay, and there was no stone left that was not broken or defaced, while the whole burial-ground was hidden by weeds and underbrush. It so remained until 1878, when Congress, upon the motion of S. S. Cox, of New York, appropriated five thousand dollars to restore the tomb and erect a new monument after the design found among Jefferson's papers, provided the owners of the estate would give a deed to the government for two rods square surrounding the grave, and grant the public free access thereto.

The work was done under the direction of William M. Evarts, then Secretary of State, and one beautiful summer day a simple shaft was unveiled by President Hayes, in the presence of his Cabinet and a large attendance of distinguished men.

II

JEFFERSON AS A LAWYER

It has always been an amiable fiction among historians, and Virginians generally, that Williamsburg, the capital of the colony, was a gay and gorgeous place, illuminated by the splendor of a titled governor and a vice-regal court. We read of balls, processions, and ceremonials of various sorts, of gilded coaches, rich apparel, queenly manners, and princely entertainments in imitation of those at Windsor Castle and Hampton Court, when, in fact, Williamsburg was a scattered village of ordinary wooden houses, most of them of a single story, and numbering only about two hundred in all. The population was less than one thousand souls, whites and blacks, including, as an early chronicler expresses it, "ten or twelve gentlemen's families, besides merchants and tradesmen." There were no sidewalks, no sewers, no water supply, and the grass grew in the streets. At the time of the greatest display of power and social elegance, it did not equal in appearance, convenience, or comforts any American village of equal population at the present day, and resembled the undeveloped towns of Kansas and Nebraska. The "Palace" of the governor, which was the centre of social excitement as well as official authority, was not superior in size or comfort to the homes of hundreds of thousands of village merchants throughout the land. The State-House was not more imposing that the court-house of the

ordinary county town to-day, and the buildings of William and Mary College were insignificant compared with those that shelter the public schools in our western cities. But Williamsburg was then the social and intellectual centre of the South, and is identified with the career of many famous Virginians.

The surrounding country, far into the interior of the State, was peopled by rich tobacco barons, many of whom drank to excess, gambled recklessly, raced horses, patronized cock-fights, and were carried home by their slaves insensible from their tavern carousals. Drunkenness, debauchery, licentiousness, extravagance, disregard of financial obligations, and other moral delinquencies were looked upon with sympathy rather than censure. They owned large, fine houses, scantily furnished and devoid of the comforts which are considered necessary at the present day, but their sideboards were loaded with silver plate and rare china, and their cellars were filled with the costliest wines. Their hospitality was as reckless as the rest of their habits. Every man who had a house kept a hotel, where friends and strangers were received with the same open-handed cordiality and tolerated as long as they cared to stay, unless, perhaps, they became offensive in their cups or behaved in an ungentlemanly manner. The planters were attended by legions of slaves, and no gentleman could labor without losing caste. They were arrogant, but generous, equally reckless in morals and with money, and they had a code of honor peculiar to themselves. A man might debauch his neighbors, rob them at the gaming-table, impoverish his own family, and fall under the table in a drunken stupor without injury to his social position, but if he allowed himself to be called a coward or a liar

PRINCIPAL BUILDING, WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

(Designed by Sir Christopher Wren)

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OF THE

his reputation could only be repaired with the rapier.

Williamsburg remains to-day very much as it was before the Revolution,—the same sandy soil and soft, dry air; a few venerable mansions and much-patched cottages; the old Bruton parish church and the dust of the colonial nobility that slumbers under its protecting shadows. Some of their descendants remain to cherish their pedigrees, their clawfoot furniture, their old clocks. Reminiscences and relics of historical characters spring up at one from every turn in a surprising and gratifying manner. Here Jefferson, Marshall, Monroe, and Tyler were college students, and Washington and Jefferson courted their wives; here Patrick Henry made his reputation as an orator, and John Marshall occupied a law-office in the main street. William Wirt, Edmund Randolph, and other famous men lived and loved and worked in Williamsburg, and probably more distinguished characters passed over its sandy roads "in the good old colony times" than over those of any other town of its size in North America. Two of the buildings—the court-house and the main dormitory of William and Mary College—were designed by Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and the home of the president of the college is the only house in America that was built by a king. The original mansion was occupied by Lord Cornwallis as his head-quarters during the Revolution. When he retired it was taken possession of by the French allies and was accidentally burned. Louis XVI. of France heard of the disaster and sent over money to pay for its rebuilding.

The Widow Custis (she that was Martha Dandridge), afterwards the wife of Washington,

made her home in Williamsburg. Her residence, the centre of social gayety, was burned some years ago, and its site, still strewn with the soot-covered bricks that fell in the fire, is now a part of the grounds of the insane asylum. Nothing remains but the kitchen—a small one-story house, which was detached, as is usual in the South, from the main structure, and thus preserved from destruction. It is now a tool-house for the gardeners of the institution. The Custis family and the Dandridges, from which Mrs. Custis came, were rich, hospitable, and aristocratic, and had several plantations in the neighborhood. While most of the courting was done there when Washington was a member of the House of Burgesses, the wedding took place about thirty miles away, in New Kent County, where the bride's family had their home. Her first husband, George Parke Custis, is buried in a private cemetery upon one of his plantations, about two miles from town, and two infant children in the town cemetery.

Lafayette promenaded the streets every day for months; Washington spent much time there, and the different houses in which he lived can still be pointed out. It is gratifying to have so much veneration and interest shown by the people in the preservation of historical structures. The residence of Chancellor George Wythe, with whom Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, and Henry Clay studied law and maintained a partnership for several years, was the head-quarters of Washington in 1781, and is as well preserved as if built in the last decade. A long frame structure near by was the home of Edmund Randolph, the first Secretary of State under the Constitution, who had already been Governor of Virginia. His descendants still occupy the home. The residences of William Wirt,

THE ANCIENT STATE-HOUSE OF VIRGINIA AT WILLIAMSBURG
(Designed by Sir Christopher Wren)

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OF
CALIFORNIA

John Marshall, and President John Tyler are still pointed out. The foundations of the old Capitol building, which was originally erected in 1705, restored after a fire in 1746, and then totally destroyed in 1832, have been unearthed by the Society for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities and marked with a low coping of cement. It seems to have been a twin building, in the form of the letter H, connected by a colonnade.

Williamsburg was founded in 1632 and became the seat of government in 1698, when the State-House and the jail at Jamestown were burned. It was then called Middle Plantation, but was rechristened by Governor Nicholson in honor of the king. The three chief reasons for the removal, as stated by contemporaneous writers, were the destruction of the government buildings at Jamestown in what was known as the Bacon Rebellion against the authority of that testy old tyrant, Sir William Berkeley, because the College of William and Mary gave an air of scholastic dignity and social distinction to the place, and because "it was freer from the annoyance of moschetoes." The original town was composed of three streets, wide and straight, with a cipher made of a "W" at one end and an "M" at the other, in honor of King William and Queen Mary. The College stood at one end and the Capitol at the other.

The governor's "Palace" was accidentally burned by the French troops during the Revolution. The last occupant was Lord Dunmore, who resided in great state, attended by the pomp and formality of viceroyalty, and at that time there was a park, comprising three hundred and sixty acres, behind the mansion, which is now a pasture. The site of the "Palace" is occupied by a school for boys.

The three streets were named in honor of the princes of the royal house. The middle one is still called the Duke of Gloucester, and the others were named for the Duke of York and Prince Francis. The latter is now familiarly known as Jail Street.

The old court-house, which stands in the centre of the town and was designed by Wren, is a small but well-proportioned building, still occupied for judicial purposes. Here Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, John Marshall, William Wirt, Edmund Randolph, John Randolph, John Tyler, and other famous lawyers of that time tried their cases. To-day it seems an humble theatre for their talents.

An octagonal building of brick, familiar to every American school-boy by reason of the pictures that have appeared in the geographies and histories, is shown as "the Powder Horn," built by Alexander Spottswood in 1714 for an armory and powder magazine. Here was the scene of the first assembling of an armed force in the American colonies in opposition to the authority of the king, when Lord Dunmore, in 1774, fearing a mutiny among the colonies, removed the ammunition from "the Powder Horn" to the ship-of-war Magdalene, which was then lying at Yorktown. The colony was thrown into a fit of excitement, which rapidly spread north and south, and the act was discussed in every settlement of the colony as an example of British tyranny.

General Washington was a member of the Masonic lodge, and the chair he occupied is still carefully preserved. The Williamsburg *Gazette,* the oldest newspaper in Virginia, and one of the oldest in the country, which first appeared on the sixth of August, 1736, is still published.

INTERIOR OF BRUTON PARISH CHURCH, WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

(Oldest Protestant House of Worship in America)

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The Bruton parish church, organized in 1632, and which, with perhaps the exception of a little sanctuary at Santa Fé, is the oldest building now used for religious worship in America, is built of brick in the form of a Roman cross, with a stately spire, and has been thoroughly restored to its original condition. Upon the walls are interesting tablets. One of them, erected to the memory of Dr. William Cocke, announces that "his honoured friend Alexander Spottswood, Esquire, with the principal gentlemen of the Parish, attended his funeral, and, weeping, saw his corps inter'ed at the west side of the alter in this church." There is a tablet to the memory of President Tyler bearing a long epitaph, a scholarly composition. The most precious relics are three sets of silver for the communion service. One came from the church at Jamestown, the first English church erected in North America; another was presented to Bruton church by Queen Anne, and the third was a gift of George III.

The oldest tomb in the church-yard bears the date of 1664. Colonel John Page was buried there in 1692, and Alice Page, his wife, in 1678. The Blair family are buried near by, and nearly every member of the "First Families of Virginia" can trace his ancestry to some one whose half-obliterated epitaph is to be found within this sacred enclosure. Among the common colonists sleeps Lady Christine Stuart, a member of the royal house of Scotland, who married a Virginia gentleman and lived and died in Williamsburg. She was a niece of Mary, Queen of Scots, and is said to have inherited the grace and beauty of that unfortunate woman.

An imposing white shaft near the entrance covers the resting-place of Judge Nathaniel Bev-

erly Tucker, who, his epitaph says, "was descended from Virginia's best blood," while over in the farther corner is a stone with this striking inscription:

"Here lies all the grave can claim
of
Mrs. Ann Timson Jones,
Consort of the Rev. Scervant Jones.
Born 1 Sept. 1787
Mar. 26 Dec. 1805.
Bapt'd 3 Mar. 1822
Died 6 June 1849.
If woman ever yet did well;
If woman ever did excell;
If woman husband e'er adored;
If woman ever loved the Lord
If ever Faith and Hope and Love
In human flesh did live and move;
If all the Graces e'er did meet—
In her, in her, they were complete.

My Ann, my all, my Angel wife!
My dearest one, my love, my life!
I cannot say or sigh farewell,
But where thou dwellest I will dwell."

This epitaph was composed by a Baptist clergyman named Scervant Jones, a well-known, eccentric character in that part of the country for half a century, who had an odd way of mixing humor and piety. Mr. Jones lies beside his wife, and his tombstone bears a long epitaph of an apologetic character. It speaks of his many faults and frailties, but gives him credit for being a useful and well-meaning man. His enemies are invited to forgive him and the public to remember that he was more sinned against than sinning.

One of the stories they tell of Brother Jones is that while riding his circuit one day he stopped for rest and refreshment at the house of a planter named Towles. The family had finished dinner as he arrived, and the servants were directed to

bring back to the table what was left on the platter. Mr. Jones said grace as follows:

"Good Lord of love,
Look from above
And bless the Towles
Who ate these fowls
And left the bones
For Scervant Jones."

The list of the alumni of William and Mary College in early days reads like a roll of the Continental Congress and the first Constitutional Convention. It was the fountain-head of rebellion against tyranny and the inspiration of the apostles of the rights of men. Richard Bland announced from William and Mary in 1766 the startling doctrine that America was no part of the Kingdom of England, and Dabney Carr in 1773, as chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, here took the first step towards securing united resistance on the part of the colonies. Peyton Randolph, the first president of the Continental Congress; Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence; John Tyler, who first proposed a constitutional convention; Edmund Randolph, who by submitting what is known as "the Virginia Plan" gave direction to its proceedings; John Marshall, who as chief-justice interpreted the meaning of the Constitution, and many others who bore active but less conspicuous parts in the formation of the government were educated at that institution. Seven of the eleven members of the Committee of Correspondence; seven of the eleven members of the Committee of Safety; seventeen of the thirty-one members of the committee that reported the Declaration of Rights, four of the seven signers of the Declaration of Independence from Virginia, seventeen of the thirty-two mem-

bers of the Continental Congress, five of the six judges of the first courts, three of the five speakers of the House of Delegates during the Revolution, two of the three delegates from Virginia to the Annapolis Convention, and four of the seven delegates to the Federal Convention, were graduates.

Three of the seven Presidents of the United States born in Virginia, four of the five judges contributed by that State to the Supreme Bench of the United States, sixteen of the twenty-seven United States Senators, three of the four speakers of the national House of Representatives, two of the three ambassadors to England, four of the six ministers to France, fifteen of the thirty-three Governors of Virginia, and twenty-one of the forty-three members of the Supreme Court of that State were alumni, and this honor roll might be continued indefinitely, not forgetting General Winfield Scott, who also was educated there.

Under the floor of the chapel, which was built in 1729, rest the remains of Sir John Randolph and his two eminent sons, Peyton Randolph, first president of the Continental Congress, and John Randolph, father of Edmund Randolph, who was Secretary of State under Washington. Near them lie James Madison, the first president of the college after the Revolution; Lord Botetourt, the most popular of Virginia's royal governors, who died in 1771, and many other famous men. For many years after the Civil War the College was badly crippled, owing to the partial destruction of its buildings and the depletion of its income, but in 1893, under the leadership of Mr. Hoar in the Senate and General N. M. Curtis, of New York, in the House, an act was passed to pay the damages that were caused by the Union soldiers. Then the venerable institution was galvan-

ized into renewed life by its energetic president, Lyon G. Tyler, a son of the tenth President of the United States, five generations of whose family have been graduated from the institution.

William and Mary is the oldest college in America, although Harvard graduated the first class. In 1685 the Rev. James Blair was sent over to Virginia to act as a sort of deputy for the Bishop of London, who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the colonial churches. They called him a "commissary." In 1691 he returned to England to represent to the king and the bishop the necessity for an institution for higher education. He was kindly received by his sovereigns and by the clergy, and in February, 1692, the king granted him a charter and gave him two thousand pounds in cash and the revenues of certain crown lands. Seymour, the attorney-general, having received the royal command to draw up the documents, remonstrated. He saw no need of a college in Virginia. The patient Mr. Blair explained that it was needed to educate young men for the ministry, and begged the honorable attorney-general to remember that the colonists had souls to be saved as well as the people of England.

"D—— your souls!" exclaimed the imperious Seymour. "Make tobacco!"

The college was named in honor of the two sovereigns, who endowed it with twenty thousand acres of land, the receipts from a tax of one penny a pound on tobacco exported, and the revenue from skins and furs. Robert Boyle, a famous philanthropist of those days, endowed it with a fund for the conversion and instruction of the Indians. Sir Christopher Wren, the greatest of English architects, drew the plans for the building. Dr. Blair was appointed the first president and five pro-

fessors, of Greek, Latin, mathematics, moral philosophy, and divinity, were imported. The first commencement took place in July, 1700, and a great concourse of people from all the colonies gathered at Williamsburg to witness the graduating exercises. They came from New York, New England, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and the Carolinas, and it was one of the events of that century.

The population of Virginia at this time was about forty thousand. Massachusetts had seventy thousand; Connecticut, thirty thousand; New Hampshire, ten thousand; Rhode Island, ten thousand; New York, thirty thousand; New Jersey, fifteen thousand; Pennsylvania, twenty thousand; Maryland, twenty-five thousand; North Carolina, five thousand; South Carolina, seven thousand. The total population of the colonies was about two hundred and sixty-three thousand.

The first Greek-letter fraternity—Phi Beta Kappa—was organized at William and Mary in 1776, and among the charter members were John Marshall, chief-justice, and Bushrod Washington, associate justice of the Supreme Court; Spencer Roane, who was considered the ablest jurist ever produced in Virginia; John Brown and Stephen T. Mason, Senators from Virginia; William Short, minister to Spain and Holland, and Elisha Parmalee, a native of Massachusetts, who established chapters at Yale and Harvard when he returned home.

Although he was much attached to the old town and his alma mater, it was Jefferson who caused the removal of the seat of government to Richmond on the theory that the capital of a State should be as near as possible to its geographical centre.

When young Jefferson came to college at Wil-

liamsburg he brought with him all the requisites of the successful student,—perfect health, good habits, and an inquisitive intellect. He came from a pure and honest home, where he had learned nothing but what was good and honorable, and had passed through a course of preparation under careful and conscientious tutors. When five years old he attended an English school, and at nine became a boarding scholar in the family of the Rev. William Douglass, who had emigrated from Scotland to be tutor in the Monroe family, and afterwards established a school for boys on the banks of the James. Jefferson's father died in 1757, and his situation was touchingly described by him years afterwards in the letter previously referred to written to his eldest grandson (Thomas Jefferson Randolph) when the latter was sent from home to school for the first time. He writes:

"When I recollect that at fourteen years of age the whole care and direction of myself was thrown on myself entirely, without a relative or friend qualified to advise or guide me, and recollect the various sorts of bad company with which I associated from time to time, I am astonished that I did not turn off with some of them, and become as worthless to society as they were. I had the good fortune to become acquainted very early with some characters of very high standing, and to feel the incessant wish that I could ever become what they were."

He immediately made use of his liberty to change his school, and from what we know of the circumstances, we can infer that it was then he first developed that spirit of resistance to tyranny and religious intolerance which influenced his entire life. Parson Douglass was a hard man of the "Evangelical" type. He gave his pupils the ser-

mons and lectures of Philip Doddridge for light reading and pounded religion as well as the languages and mathematics into them at the rate of sixteen pounds sterling a year, as we see by the entries in Peter Jefferson's account-books. James Maury, a Huguenot, of liberal views on religion, of jovial disposition, refined manners, and literary tastes, also kept a school in the neighborhood, and to him young Jefferson went to complete his preparations for college. Teacher and pupil became fast friends for life, and one of Jefferson's first acts after he became Secretary of State was to appoint Dr. Maury's son, also named James, consul to Liverpool, where he remained for forty-five years. Dr. Maury must have been a kind friend as well as a competent teacher, and exercised a powerful influence in shaping the character of the brilliant youth, who always regarded him with confidence and affection.

When Jefferson started for William and Mary College in 1760, on horseback, a five days' ride, he had never been farther than twenty miles from home, had never seen a town of more than twenty houses, and his acquaintance was limited to his school-fellows and the families of the farmers around Shadwell. Yet within a few months we find this awkward youth of seventeen the favored and frequent companion of Francis Fauquier, the most elegant and accomplished gentleman Virginia had ever seen; Doctor William Small, the most learned man in the colony, and George Wythe, the leader of its bar. Small was professor of philosophy and mathematics at William and Mary, having been induced to come from Edinburgh a few years before. Fauquier, a favorite of the king, was governor, and lived in the "Palace," where these four congenial spirits dined together "at a familiar

table" two or three times a week. Why these men should have selected an unsophisticated student for their companion must be left for conjecture, but from them he received his culture and his first knowledge of the world.

Governor Fauquier introduced French novels, classical music, card-playing, and many new "vices" into the colony. Professor Small instilled free thought and a broad philosophy into the minds of his students. The results were felt soon after throughout the young nation, and Jefferson says "he fixed the destinies of my life." Already Small's liberal views on theology and kindred subjects were beginning to bring William and Mary College under suspicion among the orthodox, and for that reason James Madison was sent to Princeton, where the fountain of learning was undefiled. George Wythe, afterwards chancellor, the most brilliant young lawyer in Virginia, was just beginning his career of honor and influence, and it was his privilege to educate for the bar and prepare for public life Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, and Henry Clay. Wythe was a man of conscience as well as ability and wisdom. He was among the first to denounce the iniquity of slavery, and early emancipated his slaves. Henry Clay went from his office and inspiration to Kentucky, where his first political act was an attempt to induce that young Commonwealth to abolish slavery.

If Thomas Jefferson had been educated in a European capital he would probably have been an artist or an author. As his tastes then ran, he might have fixed upon architecture as his profession. At Williamsburg, with George Wythe for a daily associate, he needs must become a lawyer, and accordingly, in 1763, after two years at college, he entered Wythe's office as a student.

When an old man, for the edification of a grandchild, Jefferson drew a beautiful sketch in high relief of his own virtues in boyhood, which seem precocious and unnatural. But we have better evidence in his character than in his words. Neither his mind nor his morals were tainted by his association with Francis Fauquier, the most agreeable but the most profligate Governor of Virginia, whose evil influence was felt for generations. It speaks well for Jefferson's social attractions that he was admitted to the circle of older and accomplished men over which Fauquier presided, and for his moral stamina that he did not acquire vicious habits. No ordinary college student could have commanded such a social position or resisted the temptations it entailed. According to his own account he must have been a model youth and a remarkable student. He says that young men sought his advice as to what they should read, and parents consulted him concerning the education of their sons. He was asked to suggest a course of study for Madison when the latter was seventeen and himself twenty-three. He had already written a preposterous schedule of reading for a young man about to enter upon the law, and from that we may learn both what he claims to have practised himself and what he laid down for Madison, Monroe, and other young friends.

The student, duly prepared for the study of the law by mastering Latin and French, he says, and by a course of those "peculiarly engaging and delightful" branches, natural philosophy and mathematics, must divide each day into portions, and assign to each portion the studies most proper for it. Beginning at daylight, until eight in the morning he should confine himself to natural philosophy, morals, and religion; reading treatises

on astronomy, chemistry, anatomy, agriculture, botany, international law, moral philosophy, and metaphysics. Religion, during these early morning hours, was to be considered under two heads, —"natural religion" and "religion sectarian." For information concerning religion the student was advised to apply to the following sources: "Bible; New Testament; commentaries on them by Middleton in his works, and by Priestley in his 'Corruption of Christianity' and 'Early Opinions of Christ;' the sermons of Sterne, Massillon, and Bourdaloue." From eight to twelve A.M. he was to read law and condense cases, "never using two words where one will do." From twelve to one he was advised to "read politics," in Montesquieu, Locke, Priestley, Malthus, and the "Parliamentary Debates." In the afternoon he was to divert his mind with history; and, when evening came, he might regale himself with literature, criticism, rhetoric, and oratory. As an alternative amusement the student was recommended in the evening "to write criticisms of the books he read, to analyze the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, to read good English orations and pleadings with closest attention to the secrets of their excellence, to compose original essays, and to plead imaginary causes with a friend."

He used to tell his grandchildren that when he was a law student he kept a clock on a shelf opposite his bed; and his rule was to get up in the summer mornings as soon as he could see what o'clock it was and begin his day's work at once. In the winter he rose at five and went to bed at nine.

We learn from his early letters, however, that while at college he was quite extravagant in dress and in his outlay for horses. He was very exact-

ing of his groom in having his horses always beautifully kept, and it was his habit, when his riding-horse was brought up for him, to brush his white cambric handkerchief across the animal's shoulders, and send it back to the stable if any dust were left on the handkerchief.

Early in the year 1767, about the time of his twenty-fourth birthday, he was admitted and began at once the practice of his profession. Unlike most beginners at the bar, he was not compelled to wait for clients. He was fortunate in his generation and in the circumstances which surrounded him. In 1642 the Legislature of Virginia passed a law expelling all "mercenary attorneys" —that is, paid attorneys—from the courts, and for nearly eleven years not a lawyer in the State could take a fee from a client for serving in court. As the rogues took advantage of this, the law was repealed and attorneys were licensed; but they were required to take an oath not to oppress clients nor encourage litigation. No sooner were they back at the bar again than they began to make mischief, and the House of Burgesses in 1657 decided to "eject" lawyers entirely from the courts. The law appears upon the statute-books of that date and remained in force twenty-three years. In the meantime people who had litigation were compelled to rely upon their neighbors to assist them in examining witnesses and making pleas. But in 1680 the House of Burgesses, at that time composed exclusively of farmers, passed an act allowing the lawyers to appear again in court, and fixing their compensation at rates which were intended to be liberal. The ordinary fee for trying a case in the chief court of the colony was five hundred pounds of tobacco, and in the county courts, one hundred and fifty pounds.

These fees were the highest that could be charged, and Jefferson's account-books show that his usual compensation was somewhat less. During his first year at the bar he was employed in sixty-eight cases before the General Court, and his fees amounted to two hundred and ninety-three pounds four shillings and five and three-fourths pence. At that rate a lawyer would receive fifty dollars for arguing a case before the Supreme Court of the United States, ten dollars before a local court, two dollars for an oral opinion, and five dollars for a written opinion. Until after 1792, when lawyers' fees were again fixed by the Legislature of Virginia, the most eminent lawyer in the State could not legally charge for the most elaborately written opinion on the most abstruse question more than sixteen dollars and sixty-six cents; and when lawyers attended court more than a day's travel from their homes they were allowed only three dollars and fifty-eight cents a day.

Nevertheless, it was a good time for a lawyer when Jefferson began to practise, and he could make up for the small fees by the number of his cases. Almost everybody was in litigation. After one hundred years of extravagance the planters were bankrupt. One century of prosperity, three generations of spendthrifts, then a lawyer and the sheriff. There were no manufactures, no commerce, no towns, no internal trade. As fast as the richness of the soil could be converted into tobacco it was sent to London and exchanged for fine mansions, heavy furniture, costly apparel, wines, fine horses, coaches, and slaves. The planters lived as though the earth were inexhaustible, and tried to maintain the lordly style of English grandees. The soil was rapidly exhausted, the price of negroes always on the increase, and the price of to-

bacco always going downward. The only laborers were ignorant slaves, whose possession destroyed the energy of their masters, swelled their pride, and dulled their understanding.

Such was the condition when Jefferson was admitted to the bar, and he doubled his estate because of it in seven years' practice. Of his business before the inferior tribunals he leaves no record, but during his first year he had sixty-eight cases before the General Court; the second year one hundred and fifteen; the third, one hundred and ninety-eight; the fourth, one hundred and twenty-one; the fifth, one hundred and thirty-seven; the sixth, one hundred and fifty-four; the seventh, one hundred and twenty-seven, and the eighth, which was 1774, only twenty-nine, for at that time the colony was agitated and Virginia had other work for him.

Most of his business concerned conflicting land-grants, debts and mortgages, horse and slave trades, trespass, assault and battery, libel, malversation in office, and contested elections. The Carters, Carringtons, Dinwiddies, Claibornes, Blands, Lees, Pages, and other of the first families of Virginia were his clients. The young attorney must have had the confidence of the community. When he needed counsel or assistance he applied to George Wythe, his preceptor, or to Edmund Pendleton, and his account-books show that he divided fees with Patrick Henry on several occasions.

His keen observation, quick perceptions, and inquisitive nature qualified him for the law. He had tireless industry, method, learning, skill and rapidity in handling books, and the instinct of research which led him to the fact he wanted as the hound scents the game, a serenity of temper,

a habit of noting everything upon paper in such a way that his fund of knowledge could be rapidly arranged and brought into action, a ready sympathy with a client's mind, and the faculty of stating a case with clearness and brevity. He once defined a lawyer as a person whose trade it is to contest everything, concede nothing, and talk by the hour. He was no orator. His vocal organs were defective, and if he spoke in a tone much above that of conversation, his voice soon became husky and articulation difficult. He never resumed the practice of law after he was elected to the Continental Congress. In 1775, at thirty-one, after seven years' successful exercise of his profession, he transferred his unfinished cases to his friend and kinsman, Edmund Randolph, before he started for Philadelphia.

Perhaps the greatest service Jefferson performed for his native State was to revise the laws of Virginia, which were a chaos of obsolete and antiquated enactments,—good for lawyers but bad for clients. A Committee of Revision was elected by the Assembly by ballot. He received the highest number of votes. The other members were Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, his preceptor, George Mason, and F. L. Lee. The two last-named, not being lawyers, did little work. Jefferson took the greater part of the burden upon his own shoulders, and produced a revision which was not only important to the State, but was the most arduous, difficult, and perplexing labor of his life.

In those days, when printing presses were scarce, the acts passed by the Legislature seldom went beyond the final enrolled copy, and lawyers were compelled to procure transcripts of them. As a natural result many of the local courts and lawyers

found themselves without copies. Jefferson made a very valuable collection of all of the Virginia laws. He found difficulty in procuring copies of some of them,—some appeared to have perished, others were written on paper so rotten with age that it would crumble at the touch, and the ink used in others had almost faded out. "I set myself to work, therefore," he says, "to collect all which were then existing, in order that when the day should come in which the public should advert to the magnitude of their loss in these precious monuments of our property and our history, a part of their regret might be spared by information that a portion had been saved from the wreck, which is worthy of their attention and preservation. In searching after these remains, I spared neither time, trouble, nor expense." Thus during the days of his practice he was preparing for the duty of revision which he was destined to perform, and had to furnish a greater part of the copy used by himself and his associates. The State owed the preservation of its laws to this careful young student.

The statutes were full of absurdities and crudities and were the instruments of oppression rather than justice. The blue laws of Connecticut were forgeries, but the blue laws of Virginia were genuine, and worse than those of Connecticut were ever represented. The committee swept away most of the ancient code. Jefferson's colleagues were disposed to retain the old doctrine of retaliation, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a poisoner to be poisoned, a maimer to be maimed exactly like his victim. But they yielded to his importunities, and no sheriff has ever since been compelled to pry out an eye or bite off a nose.

During the first month of the work of revision he proposed enough work to keep the Legislature

busy for ten years. His first bill established a new judiciary for the State, defining its powers, jurisdiction, and rules of procedure. The next fixed the terms upon which foreigners could be admitted to citizenship in Virginia,—two years' residence, a declaration of intention to live in the State, and an oath of allegiance; minor children of naturalized parents and minors without parents in the State to become citizens on coming of age without legal formality. The principle of this bill and most of its details have been adopted by the national government.

One of the first of the popular institutions of the State to be assaulted by this young and energetic reformer was the foundation of the Virginia aristocracy, towards which he had early acquired a determined hostility. The colonists brought from England with other fetiches the ancient law of entail and primogeniture, which prevented the division of estates, excluding the daughters and all the sons but the eldest from sharing the property of their parents. As a consequence the best part of Virginia was held by a few decaying families who had neither the ability, the energy, nor the capital to improve their lands, and left no opportunity for people of enterprise to add to the wealth of the State. The slaves went with the land. This left the younger sons of a family without hope and drove them into the professions, which were already overcrowded. After a three weeks' struggle in the Legislature, against the opposition of the aristocracy of the State, the primogeniture law was repealed. Every acre and every negro in Virginia by the first of November, 1776, was held in fee simple, could be sold to any comer, and was free to fall into hands that were able to use them. It was the easiest and quickest of his

triumphs, though he did not outlive the enmity his victory awakened.

One of the first to suffer by the reform was his own son-in-law, Randolph, whose father, a brisk and convivial old gentleman, showed inclinations towards a second marriage. A girl in her teens was the object of his affections, upon whom he proposed to make so generous a settlement as to impoverish his children and throw them upon Jefferson for support. The latter wrote his daughter that Colonel Randolph's marriage was a thing to be expected, as his amusements depended upon society and he could not live alone. The settlement upon the old man's bride might be neither prudent nor just, but he hoped that it would not lessen their affection for him.

The aristocracy of Virginia were afterwards the enemies of Jefferson because of his energy with which he attacked the laws of entail and caused a social revolution in the State. This class, whose distinction was thus destroyed, never forgave him, and always hated and reviled him with relentless animosity,—they and the generations that came after them. Jefferson explained that his purpose was to destroy the aristocracy of wealth and make an opening for an aristocracy of virtue and education. His assault upon the church to which, with all their sinfulness, they were loyal, aggravated the case, for the preachers were social as well as religious autocrats.

Among other laws which Jefferson omitted in his revision of the Virginia Code was that which required a "babbling woman to be punished by ducking," "and if the slander be soe enormous as to be adjudged at a greater damage than five hundred pounds of tobacco, then the woman is to suffer a ducking for every five hundred pounds

of tobacco adjudged against the husband if he refuse to pay the tobacco."

Jefferson's idea of trial by jury was expressed in a letter to a friend in which he said: "The people are not qualified to judge questions of law, but they are very capable of judging questions of fact. In the form of juries therefore, they determine all matters of fact leaving to the permanent judges to decide the law resulting from those facts."

Jefferson was a determined opponent of the practice of duelling, and condemned it on all occasions. In the Crimes Bill of the State of Virginia he arranged for the punishment of duelling by death, and provided that the body of the challenger should be hung on a gibbet.

He was strongly opposed to a life tenure for the judiciary. He advocated terms of four or six years for judges, and removal by the President and Senate. "This," he said, "will bring their conduct at regular periods under revision and probation."

He was especially prejudiced against the Supreme Court of the United States and Chief-Justice Marshall, whose interpretation of the Constitution was not at all to his liking. He alludes frequently to Marshall's "twistifications," a word he coined to define his idea of the latter's decisions. He accused Marshall of "rancorous hatred" to the government of his country, and referred to "the cunning sophistries with which he is able to enshroud himself." "The Supreme Court of the United States," he said, "can be compared to a subtle corps of sappers and miners, constantly working underground to undermine the foundation of our government, and the independent rights of the state, and to concentrate all power in the hands

of that government in which they have so important a free hold at stake." He accused Marshall of trying to overawe Congress, and "to become an inquisitor on the freedom of speech, of writing and of principle."

Jefferson's criticism of John Marshall injured his reputation as a lawyer, but it should be remembered that he attacked the judiciary as a politician and an intense partisan, and not as a jurist. When the interpretation of the Constitution became the subject of controversy he sought political advantage, and Jefferson the lawyer retired in favor of Jefferson the politician; but when a great emergency arose the politician retired and the statesman appeared to assume responsibilities and direct policies which had no place in his political creed. This disposition was illustrated in a remarkable manner by his conduct of the Louisiana purchase.

Jefferson was an early and severe critic of the Constitution, which was adopted during his residence in France and was not sufficiently radical to meet the sentiments concerning liberty which he had acquired there and which had developed like tropical plants in the heat of the French Revolution. His letters to his friends at home show that his first impressions were decidedly unfavorable, and he wrote impulsive protests to Madison and others containing reckless views that were afterwards modified. He held that the Constitutional Convention had been unduly influenced by apprehensions concerning the result of Shea's Rebellion, and scoffed at the idea. He thought an occasional rebellion was a good thing. "God forbid that we should be twenty years without a rebellion," he declared as he came fresh from the guillotine and the Place de la Concorde. "We have had thirteen states independent for eleven years. There has

been but one rebellion. That comes to one rebellion in a century and a half for each state. What country ever existed a century and a half without a rebellion. What signifies a few lives lost in a century or two. The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure." And he refers contemptuously to the Constitution as " a kite sent up to keep the henyard in order."

In a letter to John Adams he says: " How do you like our new constitution? I confess that there are things in it which stagger all my dispositions to subscribe to what such an assembly has proposed. The house of federal representatives will not be adequate to the management of affairs, either foreign or federal. Their president seems a bad edition of a Polish king. He may be elected from four years to four years for life. Indeed, I think all the good of this constitution might have been couched in three or four new articles to be added to the good, old, and venerable fabric, which should have been preserved even as a religious relique."

In a letter to James Madison he says: " I will now tell you what I do not like. First, the omission of a bill of rights, providing clearly and without the aid of sophism, for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restriction of monopolies, the eternal and unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws and trials by jury in all matters of fact triable by the laws of the land, and not by the laws of nations. The second feature I dislike, and strongly dislike, is the abandonment, in every instance, of the principle of rotation in office."

Later, without recalling these intemperate utterances, Jefferson expressed his objections in more statesmanlike language, and reduced them to a

few points,—the omission of a Bill of Rights; the failure to provide for rotation in office and to limit the Presidency to a single term. He finally concluded that it was best to ratify the Constitution as it was written, and then amend it after experience had demonstrated its weaknesses and defects. One of his commentators says that he regarded the Constitution as an experiment rather than an achievement. Finally, in 1809, he became satisfied with the results of the experiment and writes Madison, "No constitution was ever before so well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self government."

In his biography of himself, prefixed to the first volume of his memoirs, published after his death, he makes this explanation: "The absence of express declarations ensuring freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of the person under the uninterrupted protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by jury in civil as well as in criminal cases, excited my jealousy; and the re-eligibility of the president for life I quite disapproved."

In his interpretation of the general welfare clause Jefferson wrote: "The Constitution says 'Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts, etc., provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States.' I suppose the meaning of the clause to be, that Congress may collect taxes for the purpose of providing for the general welfare, in those cases wherein the constitution empowers them to act for the general welfare. To suppose that it was meant to give them a distinct substantive power, to do any act which might tend to the general welfare is to render all the enumerations useless, and to make their powers unlimited."

Jefferson's record on slavery is characteristic. He was an abolitionist in theory, but in practice he saw difficulties and obstacles that even his fertile mind could not overcome. His views were expressed in a passage in the Declaration of Independence which was stricken out by Congress; but he was not in favor of emancipation unless the slaves could be extirpated, because he did not believe that the whites and blacks would live at peace with one another if the latter were ever free. He was one of the organizers of the Colonization Society, still in existence, for the establishment of a colony of American freedmen in Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa, whence they originally came. He wrote a great deal on the subject, and argued that they would not only find homes for themselves, but "would carry with them the seeds of civilization which might render their sufferings here a blessing to them and to their descendants." His prophetic mind foresaw that the slavery problem would sooner or later bring disaster upon the South.

Deeply as Jefferson came to hate slavery, clearly as he foretold the ruin enclosed in the system, he saw it only in its better aspects at his own home. He saw his father patiently drilling negroes, not long from their native Africa, into carpenters, millers, wheelwrights, shoemakers, and farmers. He saw his mother of a morning in her sitting-room, which was well furnished with contrivances for facilitating labor, seated with her daughters and her servants, like Andromache surrounded by her maidens, all busy with household tasks.

It was in his Notes on Virginia that he said concerning slavery: "Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice can not sleep forever." "The abolition

of slavery," he said, " is not impossible, and ought never to be despaired of. Every plan should be advocated and every experiment tried which may do something towards the ultimate object."

Although slavery was abhorrent to him, he had a low opinion of the virtue and ability of the colored race, and often asserted that " nature herself had made it impossible for the two races to live happily together on equal terms." He considered the Indian much superior in mental capacity, but had " never observed any negro or negress with one gleam of superior intelligence, aptitude or taste. No negro standing behind his master's chair had ever caught from the educated conversation of educated persons an educated mode of thinking. Never could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; and I never saw even an elementary trait of painting or sculpture." Yet to one who defended slavery on the theory of the intellectual superiority of the white man he said: " Whatever their degree of talent, it is no measure of their right. Because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not therefore lord of the persons or the property of others."

When he was engaged with Wythe and Pendleton in the revision of the statutes of Virginia, they first made a digest of existing laws concerning slavery, silently dropping such as they deemed inadmissible and arranging the rest, as was their custom, in the form of a bill. The subject they resolved to keep by itself, designing to present it when the sentiment of the Legislature and the public should admit of the discussion of emancipation in a dispassionate and unselfish manner. These benevolent revisers demanded of Virginia a degree of self-control, wisdom, foresight, and

executive genius which the whole human race could not have furnished. By the provisions of their bill all slave children born after the passage of the act were to be free; but they were to remain with their parents during childhood, and be educated at the public expense "in tillage, arts or sciences, according to their geniuses, until maturity, when they were to be colonized in some convenient place, furnished with arms, implements and seeds, declared independent, and protected until they were strong enough to protect themselves." But they never ventured to introduce this amendment into the Legislature. "It was found," wrote Jefferson in 1821, "that the public mind would not bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day."

One thing, however, they did accomplish. In 1778 Jefferson brought in a bill forbidding the further importation of slaves, which was passed without opposition. This was the only important change made in the slave system of Virginia during the Revolutionary period. He struck another blow in Congress in 1783, which again his Southern colleagues warded off. The cession by Virginia of her vast domain in the Northwest, out of which several States have been formed, was accepted by Congress; and he drew a plan for its temporary government. He inserted a clause abolishing slavery "after the year 1800 of the Christian era," which was lost by one vote in a Congress of twenty-three members, ten States being represented. The four New England States, New York, and Pennsylvania voted for the clause. New Jersey would have favored it, but she had only two members, one of whom was sick in his chambers. South Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia voted against it. North Carolina was divided, as would

have been Virginia had not one of her delegates been sick in bed. Seven votes being required to decide the proposition affirmatively, it was lost, and then Jefferson says: "Thus we see the fate of millions unborn, hanging on the tongue of one man, and heaven was silent in that awful moment." Writing a friend he said: "We must await with patience the workings of an overruling Providence and hope that it is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of Justice will awaken to their distress."

In 1820 he wrote a letter to Lafayette concerning the Missouri question in which he said: "All know that permitting the slaves of the south to spread into the west will not add one being to that unfortunate condition, that it will increase the happiness of those existing, and by spreading them over a larger surface, will dilute the evil everywhere, and facilitate the means of getting finally rid of it, an event more anxiously wished by those on whom it presses than by the noisy pretenders to exclusive humanity."

Jefferson never bought slaves on an investment. He inherited thirty from his father in 1757, and they increased to fifty-four by 1774. The remainder of his slaves came to him by ways other than purchase. He taught them trades in order that they might be self-supporting in case they were ever made free. A visitor at Monticello describes "a cluster of little shops wherein his own negroes carried on the necessary trades; such as carpentry, cabinet-making, shoe-making, tailoring, weaving. The masonry of the rising mansion was also executed by slaves. There was a mill upon the estate for the accommodation of the neighborhood. For

many years the making of nails had been one of the winter industries of American farmers, all nails being then of the wrought description; Jefferson too, had his nail forge, wherein a foreman and half a dozen men and boys hammered out nails for the country round about. When James Monroe built his house near by, it was from his former instructor that he bought his nails. At times Jefferson had as many as ten nailors at work, two fires, and five hands at each fire; and he supplies the country stores far and near with nails at an excellent rate of profit. His weaving force also grew into a little factory of 60 spindles, producing cotton cloth for all his plantation as well as a redundancy for the village stores. Some of his black mechanics on the estate were among the best workmen in Virginia. One man is spoken of as being a universal genius in handiwork. He painted the mansion, made some of its best furniture, repainted the mill, and lent a hand in that prodigious structure of the olden time, a family coach planned by the master."

Edward Bacon, his overseer, says: "Mr. Jefferson was always very kind and indulgent to his servants. He would not allow them to be at all overworked, and he would hardly ever allow one of them to be whipped. His orders to me were constant, that if there was any servant that could not be got along with without the chastising that was customary, to dispose of him. He could not bear to have a servant whipped no odds how much he deserved it. Mr. Jefferson had a large number of favorite servants, that were treated just as well as could be. Burwell was the main principal servant on the place. He did not go to Washington. Mr. Jefferson had the most perfect confidence in him. He told me not to be at all particular with him—

to let him do pretty much as he pleased, and let him have pocket money occasionally, as he wanted it. He stayed at Monticello, and took charge of the meat house, garden, etc., and kept the premises in order. Mr. Jefferson gave him his freedom in his will, and it was right that he should do it. Mr. Jefferson freed a number of servants in his will. I think he would have freed all of them, if his affairs had not been so much involved that he could not do it. He freed one little girl some years before he died, and there was a great deal of talk about it. She was nearly as white as anybody and very beautiful. People said he freed her because she was his own daughter. She was not his daughter. When she was nearly grown, by Mr. Jefferson's direction I paid her stage fare to Philadelphia and gave her fifty dollars. I have never seen her since and don't know what became of her. From the time she was large enough she had always worked in the cotton factory. She never did any hard work."

In his will Jefferson gave Burwell, his body-servant, who also did the painting about Monticello, " my good affectionate and faithful servant, his freedom, and $300 to start him in business of painter and glaizer." Two other slaves, Hennings, who was a carpenter, and Fosset, who was a blacksmith, were both given their freedom and tools, an acre, and money to build a log house on an acre of land near the university, " where they will be mostly employed," and he made arrangements for their employment before his death. He also gave John Hennings the services of his two sons, Madison and Eston Hennings, until they were of age, when they were to have their freedom, and showed his anxiety for their future and his respect for the law by adding to his will this clause:

"And I humbly and earnestly request of the legislature of Virginia a confirmation of the bequests of freedom to these servants, with permission to remain in this state, where their families and connections are, as an additional instance of the favor of which I have received so many other manifestations in the course of my life, and for which I now give them my last solemn and dutiful thanks."

III

JEFFERSON AS A FARMER

JEFFERSON always gave his occupation as that of a farmer, although it was the only one of the many wide fields of his activity in which he absolutely failed; and he was willing to confess his failure by yielding the control of his estates to his grandson. He was passionately fond of country life; he was forever talking about retirement from politics and the enjoyment of the tranquillity of the farm and communion with nature. He planned a hermitage at the Natural Bridge of Virginia, where he intended to seek perfect seclusion from responsibilities and cares, and never tired of discussing the advantages enjoyed by those who lived close to the soil. Jefferson was anxious to keep this an agricultural country. He was opposed to the introduction of manufacturing establishments and the immigration of artisans. "While we have land to labor," he said, "let us never wish to see our citizens kept at a work bench or twirling a distaff. Carpenters, masons and smiths are wanted in husbandry, but for the general operation of manufactures let our workshops remain in Europe." And in a letter to John Jay he said: "I consider the class of artificers as panderers of vice and the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overthrown."

He abhorred cities, and considered them dangerous to the public welfare. Again he said: "Cultivators of the earth make the best citizens. They

are the most vigorous, the most virtuous and the most independant. They are tied to their country, and wedded to its liberty and interests by the most lasting bonds. As long therefore as they can find employment in this line I would not convert them into mariners, artisans or anything else."

"The best tenants," he wrote in his later days, "are foreigners who do not speak the language. Unable to communicate with the people of the country they confine themselves to their farms and families, compare their present state to what it was in Europe, and find great reason to be contented. Of all foreigners, I should prefer Germans. They are the easiest got, the best for their landlords, and do best for themselves." He saw a providential blessing in the yellow fever because "it will discourage the growth of great cities in our nation, and I view these great cities as pestilential to the morals, to the health and to the liberties of mankind."

He loved his garden and the fields, the orchards, and his asparagus beds. Every day he rode through his plantation and walked in his gardens. In the cultivation of flowers he took great pleasure. "One of my early recollections is of the attention which he paid to his flower beds," writes Mrs. Coolidge, his granddaughter. "I remember the planting of the first hyacinths and tulips that came from Europe. The bulbs arrived, labelled each one with a fancy name. There was 'Marcus Aurelius' and the 'King of the Gold Mine,' the 'Roman Empress' and the 'Queen of the Amazons,' 'Psyche,' the 'God of Love,' etc. These precious roots were committed to the earth under my grandfather's own eye, with his beautiful granddaughter Anne standing by his side, and a crowd of happy young faces of younger grandchildren, clustering round

to see the progress, and inquire anxiously the name of each separate deposit.

"Then, when spring returned how eagerly we watched the first appearance of the shoots above ground. Each root was marked by its own name written on a bit of stick by its side; and what joy it was for one of us to discover the tender green breaking through the mould, and run to grandpapa and announce that we really believed Marcus Aurelius was coming up, or the Queen of the Amazons was above ground. With how much pleasure, compounded of our own pleasure and his own, on the new birth, he would immediately go out to verify the fact, and praise us for our diligent watchfulness."

Captain Edmund Bacon, for twenty years overseer and business man of Jefferson's plantation, whose indifference or incompetency, according to Jefferson himself, impoverished his employer, left interesting reminiscences which were afterwards published in a little volume. It was injustice to charge Bacon with mismanagement at Monticello, for his employer wrote him the most detailed instructions while he was absent at Philadelphia, Washington, and elsewhere; but Bacon showed no resentment, and to the day of his death, which occurred in 1862, spoke of Jefferson as the most considerate and generous of employers. The latter reciprocated this sentiment, and when Bacon voluntarily left the plantation to seek his fortunes in the new West, Jefferson gave him letters of introduction to governors, generals, and federal officials everywhere, and a general commendation in which he said, "Not one man in a thousand would have done so well for me as Bacon has done." And in other letters and memoranda Jefferson speaks of him with great respect and con-

fidence as one who would do faithfully and exactly what he was told.

Jefferson inherited from his father nineteen hundred acres of land, and began the practice of law when he became of age in 1764. His practice very soon became extensive, and yielded him an income of three thousand dollars, while from his plantation he received about two thousand dollars, making a sum total of five thousand dollars a year. This was a handsome income as property was then rated; for the very best highlands of Albemarle were valued at not more than two dollars an acre. In 1774 he had increased his estates to five thousand acres, and several fine farms came to him with his wife.

The entire valley was originally held by a few settlers, Peter Jefferson, William Randolph, Nicholas Meriwether, and Robert Walker, who in 1735 received large grants of wild land from the crown which in course of time were divided into farms.

Jefferson's birthplace is in sight of the portico of his mansion. The house in which his father and mother lived stood upon a sunny slope in the valley of the Rivanna, which winds around like a silver ribbon among the hills of red clay. There is so much oxide of iron in the soil that it stains the hands and looks almost the color of crimson. The land is lean, but the view is superb. From the cupola of the mansion you can look into half a dozen counties. The home of President Monroe, known as Ashlawn, lies about eight miles down the valley; Madison's home, a few miles north, was called Montpelier.

Monticello is five hundred and eighty feet high in the form of a cone. It slopes eastward one and a half miles to the Rivanna River. The view ex-

tends about forty-seven miles to the Blue Ridge Mountains. West and southwest is an irregular range known as the Ragged Mountains, and at their base in full view of Monticello sits the University of Virginia. The top of the hill was levelled for a building-site, six hundred by two hundred feet. The landscape slopes gently on every side from this lawn; one hundred feet from the eastern end stands the mansion. With its projecting porticos east and west, the width of the house is one hundred feet each way. It approaches on either hand within fifty feet of the brow of the mountain, with which it is connected by covered ways ten feet wide, whose floors are level with the cellars, and whose flat roofs form promenades nearly level with the first floor of the dwelling. These, turning at right angles at the brow and widening to twenty feet, extend one hundred feet, and terminate in one-story pavilions twenty feet square, the space beneath the terraces being used for business offices.

From the northern terrace the view is superb. Here Jefferson and his guests were accustomed to sit in the summer evenings until bedtime. Here perhaps has been assembled more patriotism, wisdom, and learning than in any other garden in America.

The mansion is of the Doric order of Grecian architecture, with heavy cornices and massive balustrades. The interior is in the Ionic style. The front hall recedes six feet within the wall of the building, and a portico, the full height of the house, projects twenty-five feet with stone pillars and steps. The hall is also the full height of the house and passages leading off to other parts of the building terminate in octagonal apartments, leaving recesses on three equal sides. Piazzas pro-

MONTICELLO, THE HOME OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

(Designed by himself)

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA

ject six feet beyond; their roofs, being the height of the house, rest on brick arches. The northern piazza connects the house with the public terrace, while the southern is sashed in for a greenhouse. East of the central passage, on each side of the hall, are lodging-rooms, this front being one and a half stories. On the west front the rooms occupy the whole height, making the house one story, except the parlor or central room, which is surmounted by an octagonal story with a dome. This was designed for a billiard-room, but before completion a law was passed prohibiting public and private billiard-tables in Virginia. It was to have been approached by stairways connected with a gallery at the inner extremity of the hall which communicates with the lodging-rooms on either side above, but the use designed for the room being prohibited, the stairways were never erected.

The parlor projects twenty feet beyond the body of the house and is covered by a portico. The original plan of the projection was square; but when the cellar was built up to the floor above, the room was extended beyond the square by three sides of an octagon, leaving a place next to the cellar wall not excavated where the faithful Cæsar and Martin concealed their master's plate when the British visited Monticello in 1814. The floor of this room is in squares of wild cherry, very hard, susceptible of a high polish, and the color of mahogany. The border of each square, four inches wide, is of light-colored beech. After nearly seventy years of use and abuse, a half hour's dusting and brushing will make it look like a handsome tessellated floor.

Monticello was the finest mansion in that section of the State. Its hospitality was famous, particu-

larly its dinners and wines, and so were the balls given there in the early days. The ball-room does not suggest the conventional ideas of Jeffersonian simplicity. It is a stately apartment, with Pompeiian decorations in the frieze and a lofty ceiling. The dining-room is preserved as he left it and is equally appropriate to a man of his tastes, position and wealth. It has a curious dumb-waiter for hoisting wine but too small to carry more than one bottle. The hall is typical of hospitality, high, spacious, and well lighted, with a gallery under the ceiling from which the ladies could observe the receptions which Jefferson frequently gave. It furnished a retired place for the band when he had a ball. The library is not large, and Jefferson must have scattered his thirteen thousand books which Congress bought throughout the building. Tradition says that he kept many of them in the billiard-room, which is over the grand parlor. A billiard-room does not conform to democratic simplicity more readily than liveried servants, silver plate, and a wine-cellar. Imbedded in the ceiling of the wide portico is a curious compass, by which the guests of the house could tell the geographical directions, and over the main entrance is an ugly old church-clock.

The stairways, unlike those usually found in the colonial mansions of Virginia, are narrow, steep, and crooked, and the story goes that the body of Mrs. Jefferson, who died in one of the upper chambers, could not be carried down. The coffin had to be lowered with ropes from the gallery of the great hall. Jefferson died in a room on the first floor, which is arranged in a peculiar way. The bed was placed in a low archway between two rooms and fitted very closely. One of the rooms belonged to Jefferson, the other to his wife, and

they appear to have kept their own apartments as long as she lived. He undressed himself in his room and crawled into bed; and crawled out on the same side in the morning. She dressed and undressed in her own room and crept in and out of her own side of the same bed.

The house at Monticello was thirty-two years in building. Begun in 1770, it was not finished until 1802, and cost, altogether, according to Jefferson's account-books, about seven thousand two hundred dollars. The bricks were not imported, as many suppose, but were made on the ground by Jefferson's own slaves. The ornamental material was brought from Philadelphia by water to Richmond and then hauled over in carts, but the frame, the flooring, and most of the wood-work was made from timber cut and dressed on the place. Every nail was made on the place by hand, forged by his own colored boys.

It is not true that Jefferson escaped from his house through an underground passage when the British soldiers appeared, as is commonly stated in his biographies. There is an underground passage communicating with the slave quarters, and it was used by them, but the circumstances of Jefferson's escape are familiar by tradition to all the old residents.

A man named Jack Jouett, who kept a hotel in Charlottesville, was passing through a neighboring village when it was attacked by Major Tarleton's army. He rode rapidly home, warned the Virginia Legislature, which was in session at Charlottesville, and then went to Monticello to advise Jefferson. The latter was unconcerned as to his danger, but saddled his horse, took his sword-cane and a pair of field-glasses, and rode to the top of Carter's Mountain, which rises about one thousand feet

behind Monticello. There he remained nearly all day, watching the approaches to Charlottesville, but could see nothing of the enemy, and towards night started to return to his home. He had not gone far before he noticed that he had lost his cane and rode back for it. As he dismounted to pick it up from the ground he took one more look through his glasses and saw the whole valley swarming with redcoats. He rode down the other side of the mountain hastily and took refuge in a neighboring county, where he had an estate.

When the advance-guard of the British troops arrived the butler was hiding the silver under the floor of the dining-room. He had torn up some of the boards, and as the army came nearer dropped down into the cellar with the silver, while the other servants replaced the planking. He lay there thirty-six hours without food, guarding it. Major Tartleton remained at Monticello about twenty-four hours, and lodged there, but he had the place well protected and no harm was done.

A charming picture of Monticello and its inmates is found in "Travels in North America," by the Marquis de Chastellux, an accomplished French nobleman who visited Jefferson. After describing his approach to the foot of the mountains he says: "It was a debt Nature owed to a philosopher, and a man of taste, that in his own possessions he should find a spot where he might best study and enjoy her. He calls his house Monticello (in Italian "Little Mountain"), a very modest title, for it is situated upon a very lofty one, but which announces the owner's attachment to the language of Italy; and, above all, to the fine arts, of which that country was the cradle and is still the asylum. My object in this short description is only to show

MONTICELLO—GRAND SALON, LOOKING WEST

the difference between this and the other houses of the country, for we may safely aver that Mr. Jefferson is the first American who has consulted the fine arts to know how he should shelter himself from the weather."

The Duke la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, lieutenant-general of France, and once president of the National Assembly, spent a month at Monticello as Jefferson's guest during his exile, and gives an interesting account of his visit. He says that Monticello "is infinitely superior to all other houses in America in point of taste and convenience, and deserves to be ranked with the most pleasant mansions in France and England," and then he gives us the following picture of Jefferson at home:

"In private life, Mr. Jefferson displays a mild, easy and obliging temper, though he is somewhat cold and reserved. His conversation is of the most agreeable kind, and he possesses a stock of information not inferior to that of any other man. In Europe he would hold a distinguished rank among men of letters, and as such he has already appeared there. At present he is employed with activity and perseverance in the management of his farms and buildings; and he orders, directs, and pursues in the minutest details every branch of business relative to them. I found him in the midst of the harvest, from which the scorching heat of the sun does not prevent his attendance. His negroes are nourished, clothed, and treated as well as white servants could be. As he can not expect any assistance from the two small neighboring towns, every article is made on his farm; his negroes are cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, smiths, etc. The children he employs in a nail factory, which yields already a consider-

able profit. The young and old negresses spin for the clothing of the rest. He animates them by rewards and distinctions; in fine, his superior mind directs the management of his domestic concerns with the same abilities, activity and regularity which he evinced in the conduct of public affairs and which he is calculated to display in every situation of life. In the superintendence of his household he is assisted by his two daughters, Mrs. Randolph and Miss Maria, who are handsome, modest, and amiable women. They have been educated in France."

In the summer of 1825 the monotonous life at Monticello was broken in upon by the arrival of General Lafayette to take leave of his distinguished friend, Jefferson, preparatory to his return to France. A dinner was given to him by the professors and students of the university, at which Madison and Monroe were present, but Jefferson was too feeble to attend. It is not often that so distinguished a company has gathered at a farmhouse as the three ex-Presidents and their guest.

Bacon says: "It used to be very interesting to the people to see three ex-Presidents together. I have often seen them meet at Charlottesville on Court Day, and stand and talk together a few minutes, and crowds of people would gather around them and listen to their conversation and follow them wherever they would go."

The lawn on the eastern side of the house at Monticello contains not quite an acre. On this spot was the meeting of Jefferson and Lafayette, as described by Mrs. Randolph, who says: "The barouche containing Lafayette stopped at the end of this lawn. His escort—one hundred and twenty mounted men —formed on one side in a semicircle extending

from the carriage to the house. A crowd of about two hundred men, who were drawn together by curiosity to witness the meeting of these two venerable men, formed themselves in a semicircle on the opposite side. As Lafayette descended from the carriage, Jefferson descended to the steps of the portico. The scene which followed was touching. Jefferson was feeble and tottering with age—Lafayette permanently lamed and broken in health by his long confinement in the dungeon of Olmutz. As they approached each other, their uncertain gait quickened itself into a shuffling run, and exclaiming, 'Ah, Jefferson!' 'Ah, Lafayette!' they burst into tears as they fell into each other's arms. Among the four hundred men witnessing the scene there was not a dry eye—no sound save an occasional suppressed sob. The two old men entered the house as the crowd dispersed in profound silence."

"Mr. Jefferson was the most industrious person I ever saw in my life," continues Bacon. "I never went into his room but twice in the whole twenty years I was with him that I did not find him employed. I never saw him sitting idle in his room but twice. Once he was suffering from a toothache; and once in returning from his Bedford farm, he had slept in a room where some of the glass had been broken out of the window, and the wind had blown upon him and given him a kind of neuralgia. At all other times he was either reading, writing, talking, working upon some model or doing something else.

"I have heard him tell them enough of times that nobody should live without some useful employment. He told them my boys had got twenty dollars—more money than any of them had got;

that they had earned it themselves, and said a great deal in their praise, and in regard to the importance of industrious habits. Merriweather Lewis was a very bright little fellow. He spoke up and said: 'If we should work like Fielding and Thomas, our hands would get so rough and sore that we could not hold our books. And we need not work so. We shall be rich, and all we want is a good education, so that we shall be prepared to associate with wealthy and intelligent people.' 'Ah!' said Mr. Jefferson, and I have thought of the remark a thousand times since, 'those that expect to get through the world without industry, because they are rich, will be greatly mistaken. The people that do the work will soon get possession of all their property.'"

The parents of Edward Coles, the first Governor of Illinois, were near neighbors and intimate friends of the Jeffersons. For Mrs. Coles, who was a woman of great personal and intellectual attraction, Jefferson showed great affection, which was inherited by her son. He was Jefferson's protégé, was assisted by him to obtain an education at William and Mary College, graduated in the class of 1807, served for a time as his private secretary and afterwards as private secretary to President Madison upon his recommendation, and through Jefferson's influence was made Governor of Illinois.

Towards the close of the year 1824 Daniel Webster visited Monticello and spent a day or two there. He has left us an account of this visit, containing the most minute and interesting description ever printed of Jefferson's personal appearance, style of dress, and habits. He says:

"Mr. Jefferson is now between eighty-one and eighty-two, above six feet high, of an ample long

frame, rather thin and spare. His head, which is not peculiar in its shape, is set rather forward on his shoulders; and his neck being rather long, there is, when he is walking or conversing, an habitual protrusion of it. It is still well covered with hair, which, having been once red, and now turning gray, is of an indistinct sandy color. His eyes are small, very light, and now neither brilliant nor striking. His chin is rather long but not pointed. His nose small, regular in its outlines, and the nostrils a little elevated. His mouth is well formed, and still filled with teeth; it is strongly compressed, wearing an expression of contentment and benevolence. His complexion, formerly light and freckled, now bears the marks of age and cutaneous affection. His limbs are uncommonly long, his hands and feet very large, and his wrists of an extraordinary size. His dress, when in the house, is a gray surtout coat, kerseymere stuff waistcoat, with an under one faced with some material of dingy red. His pantaloons are very long and loose, and of the same color as his coat. His stockings are woolen, either white or gray; and his shoes of the kind that bear his name. His whole dress is very much neglected but not slovenly. He wears a common round hat. His dress, when on horseback, is a gray, straight-bodied coat, and a spencer of the same material, both fastened with large pearl buttons. When we first saw him he was riding; and in addition to the above articles of apparel, wore around his throat a knit white woolen tippet in the place of a cravat, and black velvet gaiters under his pantaloons. His general appearance indicates an extraordinary degree of health, vivacity and spirit. His sight is still good, for he needs glasses only in the evening. His hearing is generally good, but

a number of voices in animated conversation confuse it.

"Mr. Jefferson rises in the morning as soon as he can see the hands of his clock, which is directly opposite his bed, and examines his thermometer immediately, as he keeps a regular meteorological diary. He employs himself chiefly in writing until breakfast, which is at nine. From that time till dinner he is in his library, excepting that in fair weather he rides on horseback from seven to fourteen miles. Dines at four, returns to the drawing room at six, when coffee is brought in, and passes the evening in conversation until nine. His habit of retiring at that hour is so strong that it has become essential to his health and comfort. His diet is simple, but he seems restrained only by his taste. His breakfast is tea and coffee, bread always fresh from the oven, of which he does not seem afraid, with sometimes, a slight accompaniment of cold meat. He enjoys his dinner well, taking with his meat a large proportion of vegetables. He has a strong preference for the wines of the Continent, of which he has many sorts of excellent quality, having been more than commonly successful in his mode of importing and preserving them."

Webster's narrative did not please the family, and Mrs. Coolidge, a granddaughter, took occasion to correct his account of Jefferson's personal appearance. She said:

"His dress was simple, and adapted to his ideas of neatness and comfort. He paid little attention to fashion, wearing whatever he liked best, and sometimes blending the fashions of several different periods. He wore long waistcoats, when the mode was for very short; white cambric stocks fastened behind with a buckle, when cravats were universal. He adopted the pantaloons very late in life, be-

cause he found it more comfortable and convenient, and cut off his queue for the same reason. He made no change except from motives of the same kind, and did nothing to be in conformity with the fashion of the day. He considered such independence as the privilege of his age."

Monticello is preserved with thoughtful and patriotic solicitude by Mr. Jefferson Levy, the present owner, who is a New York lawyer and served a term in Congress. After the Sage of Monticello died his daughter, Mrs. Randolph, was left destitute, and being unable to keep up appearances upon property that was unproductive, traded it to a man named Barkley for a modest brick house in Charlottesville. Barkley carried on a desperate struggle for years, but the land was worn out, and he had not capital enough to replenish it, so he offered it for sale.

According to the local traditions, Commodore Levy, who was then on the retired list of the navy, while in Boston learned that Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge, a son of Ellen Randolph, Jefferson's granddaughter, was negotiating for the purchase of Monticello. The commodore was a great admirer of Jefferson, as well as a man of enterprise, so he jumped on the cars, rushed to Charlottesville, and bought the place for ten thousand dollars. Several times thereafter he offered it to the government and to various patriotic societies, but his price was too high. As will be seen, he even found it difficult to get rid of when he died.

A full-length portrait of Commodore Levy hangs in the great hall at Monticello. In his hand he holds a scroll upon which is inscribed an announcement that he abolished flogging in the United States navy, but the naval authorities award that honor to Commodore Robert Field Stockton, who

was not only a seaman, but a statesman. Stockton commanded the United States fleet in the Pacific during the Mexican War, and was the first Governor of California. In 1851 he resigned from the navy and was elected to the United States Senate from New Jersey, where he made it his business to secure the enactment of a law prohibiting the corporeal punishment of sailors. Nevertheless, Commodore Levy is believed to have anticipated this law by forbidding flogging upon the ships in his fleet.

Commodore Levy presented to Congress the bronze statue of Jefferson now in the Capitol, and when he died he bequeathed the estate of Monticello to the government of the United States as a home and school for the children of warrant officers of the navy. If the government would not accept, it was offered to the State of Virginia under the same conditions. If the State refused, it was bequeathed to the rabbi and congregation of a synagogue in Richmond, with a sum of money for charitable purposes. The United States declined the responsibility, and the heirs at law contested the will. When the case came to trial in New York in 1862 the war was on, so that neither the State of Virginia nor the Richmond synagogue was represented. The court ordered the property sold at auction, Jefferson Levy, a nephew and one of the heirs, bid it in, and the proceeds were divided with the rest of the estate.

Jefferson frankly confessed that he was a failure as a farmer. "I am, indeed, an unskillful manager of my farms," he wrote in 1816, "and sensible of this from its effects I have now committed them to better hands," his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph. "On returning home after an absence of ten years I found my farms so much deranged

that I saw evidently they would be a burden to me instead of a support till I could regenerate them; and, consequently, that it was necessary for me to find some other resource in the meantime. I thought for a while of taking up the manufacture of potash, which requires but small advances of money. I concluded at length, however, to begin a manufacture of nails, which needs little or no capital, and I now employ a dozen little boys from ten to sixteen years of age, overlooking all the details of their business myself, and drawing from it a profit on which I can get along till I can put my farms into a course of yielding profit. My new trade of nail-making is to me in this country what an additional title of nobility or the ensigns of a new order are in Europe."

Bacon says that Jefferson always knew all about everything on the plantation. "He knew the name of every tree, just when one was dead or needed nursing." He even told Bacon what pigs to kill, for he had names for them all.

In his letters he gives the most minute instructions, not only concerning what is to be done, but by whom and how to do it. He had his own ways and was very tenacious as to details. He planned for each field. "A part of the field," he once wrote, naming it, "is to be planted in quarantine corn, which will be found in a tin cannister in my closet. This corn is to be in drills five feet apart and the stocks eighteen inches asunder in the drills. The rest of the ground is to be sown in oats and red clover sowed on the oats. All plowing is to be done horizontally as Mr. Randolph does his," and he assigns the slaves to their labor: "Joe will work with Mr. Stewart; John Hennings and Lewis will work with Mr. Dinsmore; Stewart and Joe will do plantation work,

and when Stewart gets into his idle frolics it may sometimes be well for Moses or Isabel's Davy to join Joe. Davy and Abram may patch up the old garden pales when work is going on from which they can be spared."

"As soon as the aspen trees lose their leaves," he says in another letter, "take up one or two hundred of the young trees, tie them into bundles with their roots well covered with Straw. Young Davy is to carry Fanny to Washington. Three boxes in my study marked go by Fanny and her things. She must take corn for the mules and provisions for themselves to Washington. The Nailors are to work on the dam till finished and then go to the shop when the work on the mill is done and the fence mended, take as much time as you with your hands as will fill all the gullies in the north field."

In another letter: "The orchard below the garden must be entirely cultivated next year, to wit, a part in ravens kroft pea, which you will find in a cannister in my closet; a part with Irish potatoes; the rest with cow peas of which there is a patch at Mr. Freeman's, to save which great attention should be paid as they are the last in the neighborhood. Wormley must cover the fig bushes with straw rope. Keep the thorns constantly clean wed. Stop the leak under the bridge just above the waste. Rake and sweep the charcoal on its level into little heaps and carry them off. Do this when the grass seed is ripe."

Thus writes the President of the United States to his overseer in the midst of controversies over the Constitution, the finances, the annexation of territory, and complications with foreign powers, and then holds him to strict accountability in following every detail. Bacon says that Jefferson

never forgot an order he had given to one of his men, and "never failed to remember the man he gave it to, so that no matter how long a time might pass, no one could shirk responsibility."

"Mr. Jefferson was very particular in the transaction of all his business," he says. "He kept an account of everything. Nothing was too small for him to keep an account of. He knew exactly how much of everything was raised at each plantation, and what became of it; how much was sold and how much fed out. I reported to Mr. Jefferson every dollar that I received and just what I paid it out for. The first day of every January I gave him a full list of all the servants, stock and everything on the place, so that he could see exactly what had been the gain or loss. In all his business transactions with people he had everything put down in writing so that there was no chance for any misunderstanding. Nearly all the families in Milton were supplied with firewood from Mr. Jefferson's estate. They paid him five dollars a year for what wood they would burn in a fireplace. Mr. Jefferson wrote a blank form for me and I made a written contract with all the people who got their firewood from this place and once a year I went around and made collections.

"Whenever I engaged an overseer for him or any kind of a mechanic, I always made a written contract with him that stated just what he was to do and just what pay he was to receive. In this way he avoided all difficulties with the men he employed. Here is one:

"It is agreed between Thomas Jefferson and Richard Durrett, both of the county of Albemarle, that the said Durrett shall serve the said Jefferson one year as a carpenter. And the said Durrett does by these presents oblige himself to do whatever work the said Jefferson shall require in the

business of carpenter work; and the said Durrett shall take charge of the said Jefferson's employ; for which year's service the said Jefferson agrees to pay the said Durrett forty pounds and to find him four hundred and fifty pounds of pork and a peck of corn meal a week; or, in case the said Durrett should have three in family, the said Jefferson agrees to find him three pecks a week, and to find him a cow to give milk from April 15th to 15th November. As witness our hands this 28th of October, 1812.'"

In 1800 a census was taken, the results of which, with his habitual care, Jefferson records in his diary:

"1800

Aug. 23 Census of my family now given in:

Males free white under 10	2	females do	2	= 4
of 10 & under 16	1		0	1
of 16 & under 26	3		1	4
26 and under 45	1		0	1
45 and upward	1		0	1
All other free persons				0
Slaves				93
				104"

Jefferson must have parted with or lost many slaves during the year preceding this census, because another memorandum in his handwriting shows that in the winter of 1798-9 he had one hundred and forty-one slaves, but such an aged lot of negroes as they were must sooner or later have ruined any farmer. Fifty of them were over ninety years of age, and of the entire one hundred and forty-one only eleven were certainly under fifty. Between 1784 and 1794 he gave sixty-six slaves to his children.

His expenses as set down in his account-books are regularly analyzed at the close of the quarter or the year, sometimes both, and the results given in separate tables; as, for instance, at the close

of the first quarter of the year 1791 we find under date of April 8 the following:

"Analysis of Expenditures of the last quarter from Jan 8 to April 8 inclusive:

"House rent . . .	115.58
Stable expenses	96.85
Servants	65. 5
Dress	70.82
Washing	20.23
Stores	69.65
Baker	11.76
Grocer	35.21
Market	88.39
Wood	70.81
Furniture . . .	271.38
Arrearages p^{d} up	552.65
Contingencies .	260.22
Total paid . .	1729.05
Cash in hand .	64.53
In bank . . .	113.68
	1907.26

Receipts.

			D.
Jan	7	Salary . .	875
Feby	4	Hopkinson	120
	16	Johnson .	31.55
April	4	Salary . .	875
		Errors . .	5.71
			1907.26"

It is worth noting as an illustration of Jefferson's system of financial management that he is compelled to include in this account two quarters' salary to balance the expenses of a single quarter. His expense-books have more the character of diaries than of account-books. They are full of memoranda which have nothing to do with his finances, for example:

"Mr Remsen tells me that 6 cord of hiccory last a fire place well the winter.

"Myrtle candles of last year out.

"P^{d} Farren an impudent surcharge for Venet^{n} blinds 2.66.

"Borrowed of Mr Maddison order on bank for 150D.

"Enclosed to D. Rittenhouse, Liepers note of 238^{57} D out of which he is to pay for equatorial instrument for me.

"Hitzeimer says that a horse well fed with grain requires 100 lb of hay and without grain 130 lb.

"T. N. Randolph has had 9 galls whiskey for his harvest.

"My first pipe of Termo is out begun soon after I came home to live from Philadelphia.

"Rec^{d} from Rand. Jefferson a negro boy Ben, Peters son who is to be valued by John Coles & James Cooke & I am to pay the valuation to Donald & Co in discharge of their acct ag^{t} him.

"Agreed with Robt. Chuning to serve me as overseer at Monticello for £25 and 600 lb pork he is to come Dec. 1.

"Agreed with —— Bohlen to give 300 livres tournois for my bust made by Ceracchi if he shall agree to take that sum.

"Col. Coles & Mr Cooke have valued the two boys I bought from Randolph Jefferson, Carey & Ben at £155.

"My daughter Maria married this day.

"March 16 The first shad at this market to-day
" " 28 The weeping willow shows the green leaf
"April 9 Asparagus come to table
" " 10 Apricots blossom.
" " 12 Genl. Thaddeus Kosciusko puts into my hands a Warrant of the Treasury for 3684.54D to have bills of exchange bought for him.

"March 8 Tea out, the pound has lasted exactly 7 weeks, used 6 times a week; this is $\frac{8}{2}$T or .4 of an oz. a time for a single person. A pound of tea making 126 cups costs 2D, 126 cups or ounces of coffee = 8 lb cost 1.6.

"March 18 On trial it takes 11 dwt Troy of double refined maple sugar to a dish of coffee, or 1 lb avoirdupois to 26.5 dishes so that at 20 cents p^{r} lb it is 8 mills per dish. An ounce of coffee @ 20 cents p^{r} lb is 12.5 mills so that sugar and coffee of a dish is worth 2 cents."

Among his papers is a leaf thus entitled: "Statement of the vegetable market of Washington during a period of eight years, wherein the earliest and latest appearance of each article within the whole eight years was noted." One small page suffices, but it is complete; the list embraces thirty-seven articles carefully set down by the President of the United States.

In 1792 Jefferson asked "the favor of Mr. Hollingsworth to look out for a person in his neighborhood who would be willing to go to Virginia and overlook a farm for me," and was informed that Samuel Biddle would undertake the job for a hundred and twenty dollars a year. Jefferson

said that the wages were a good deal higher than he expected to pay, but he consents to give them providing Mr. Biddle will look after some matters "beyond the lines of the farm," and says "the farm is of about 5 or 600 acres of cleared land, very hilly, originally as rich as any highlands in the world, but much worried by Indian corn and tobacco. It is still however very strong, & remarkably friendly to wheat & rye. These will be my first object. Next will be grasses, cattle, sheep & the introduction of potatoes for the use of the farm instead of Indian corn, in as great a degree as possible. You will have from 12 to 15 laborers under you. They will be well clothed, and as well fed as your management of the farm will enable us, for it is chiefly with a view to place them on the comfortable footing of the laborers of other countries, that I come into another country to seek an overlooker for them, as also to have my lands a little more taken care of. For these purposes I have long banished tobacco, & wish to do the same by Indian corn in a great degree. The house wherein you will live will be about a half a mile from my own. You will of course keep bachelor's house. It is usual with us to give a fixed allowance of pork; I shall much rather substitute beef and mutton, as I consider pork to be as destructive an article in a farm as Indian corn."

In discussing the advantages of rotation of crops Jefferson says, "my rotation is as follows:

"1. Wheat, followed the same year by turneps, to be fed on by the sheep.

"2. Corn & potatoes mixed, & in autumn the vetch to be used as fodder in the spring if wanted, or to be turned in as a dressing.

"3. Peas or potatoes, or both according to the quality of the field.

"4. Rye and clover sown on it in the spring. Wheat may be substituted here for rye, when it shall be found that the 2d, 3d, 5th, & 6th, fields will subsist the farm.

"5. Clover.

"6. Clover, & in autumn turn it in & sow the vetch.

"7. Turn in the vetch in the spring, then sow buckwheat & turn that in, having hurdled off the poorest spots for cowpenning. In autumn sow wheat to begin the circle again.

"I am for throwing the whole force of my husbandry on the wheat field, because it is the only one which is sure to market to produce money. Perhaps the clover may bring in something in the form of stock. The other fields are merely for the consumption of the farm.

"The first step towards the recovery of our lands is to find substitutes for corn & bacon. I count on potatoes, clover & sheep. The two former to feed every animal on the farm except my negroes, & the latter to feed them, diversified with rations of salt fish and molasses both of them wholesome, agreeable & cheap articles of food."

Eight bushels of wheat to the acre is not successful agriculture, although wheat sold in Richmond at two dollars and a half a bushel. Jefferson boasted that the wheat grown upon his mountain slopes was whiter than the low country wheat, and averaged five or six pounds heavier to the bushel. His method of farming was this: "When the forest was first cleared, laying bare the rich, deep, black virgin soil, the slow accumulation of ages of growth and decay, tobacco was grown for five successive years. That broke the heart of the land and it was allowed to rest for a while. Then tobacco was raised again until the crop ceased to

be remunerative; and then the fields were abandoned to nature. They sowed wheat in the virgin soil among the stumps; next year corn, then wheat, then corn again; and maintained this rotation as long as they could gather a harvest of five bushels of wheat or ten bushels of corn to the acre; after which Nature was permitted to have her way, and new lands were cleared for spoilation." There was then no lack of land for the application of this method of exhaustion. Out of Jefferson's five thousand five hundred and ninety-one acres and two-thirds in Albemarle, less than twelve hundred were usually under cultivation. His estate of Poplar Forest was nearly as large, but only eight hundred acres were cleared. All the arts by which the wise farmer contrives to give back to his fields a little more than he takes from them were neglected, and the strenuous force of the slaves was squandered in an endless endeavor to make good the sacrifice of the fields by the sacrifice of the forests.

Nevertheless Jefferson was progressive in his ideas, and spent a great deal of pains and money in introducing new plants and fine stock from Europe. He brought a cargo of olive plants from Marseilles, and boxes of seeds which he sent to Charleston. He also introduced caper plants, and wrote many letters to the people of South Carolina urging them to adopt olive culture. He sent home trees and shrubbery from Washington. Bacon says: "I used to send a servant there with a great many fine things from Monticello for his table, and he would send back the cart loaded with shrubbery from a nursery near Georgetown, that belonged to a man named Maine, and he would always send me directions what to do with it.

"Mr. Jefferson was very fond of all kinds of

good stock," continues Bacon. "The first full blooded Merino sheep in all that country was imported by Mr. Jefferson for himself and Mr. Madison, while he was President. When I got home I put a notice in the paper at Charlottesville that persons who wished to improve their stock could send us two ewes, and we would keep them till the lambs were old enough to wean, and then give the owners the choice of the lambs and they leave the other lamb and both of the ewes. We got the greatest lot of sheep, more than we wanted; two or three hundred I think; and in a few years we had an immense flock. People came a long distance to buy our full blooded sheep. At first we sold them for fifty dollars, but they soon fell to thirty and twenty; and before I left Mr. Jefferson Merino sheep were so numerous that they sold about as cheap as the common ones. Some years afterwards he imported from Barbary, I think, four large broad tailed sheep. I have forgotten their names. He sent these from Washington in his own wagon, which had gone there with a load from Monticello. These sheep made very fine mutton, but they were not popular—did not disseminate and ran out in a few years.

"About the time the first sheep were imported," continues the ex-overseer, "Mr. Jefferson imported six hogs,—a pair for himself, Mr. Madison and General Dearborn, one of his secretaries. Those imported hogs were the finest hogs I have ever known. They were called Calcutta hogs. They were black on the heads and rumps and white listed around the body. They were very long bodied with short legs; were easily kept, would live on grazing, and would scarcely ever root. They would not root much more than an ox. With common pasturage they would weigh

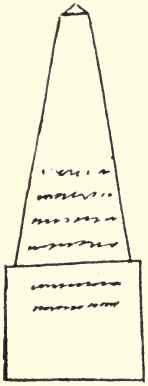
two hundred at a year old, and fed with corn and well treated they would weigh three or four hundred. Mr. Jefferson didn't care about making money from his imported stock. His great object was to get it widely scattered over the country and he left all these arrangements to me. I told the people to bring three sows and when they came for them, they might take two and leave one. In this way we soon got a large number of hogs and the stock was scattered over the whole country. He never imported any cattle while I was with him. We could always get remarkably fine cattle from West Virginia.

"But the horse was Mr. Jefferson's favorite. He was passionately fond of a good horse. We generally worked mules on the plantation, but he would not ride or drive anything but a high bred horse. Bay was his preference for color. He would not have any other. After he came from Washington he had a fine carriage built at Monticello, from a model that he planned himself. The woodworking, blacksmithing and painting were all done by his own workmen. He had the plating done in Richmond. When he travelled in this carriage, he always had five horses,—four in the carriage and the fifth for Burwell who always rode behind him. Those five horses were Diomede, Brimmer, Tecumseh, Wellington and Eagle. In his new carriage with fine harness those four horses made a fine appearance. He never trusted a driver with the lines. Two servants rode on horseback and each guided his own pair. About once a year Mr. Jefferson used to go in his carriage to Montpellier and spend several days with Mr. Madison; and every summer he went to Poplar Forest his farm in Bedford, and spent two or three months."

Mr. Jefferson always knew all about all his stock,

as well as everything else at Monticello, and gave special directions about it. He writes:

"If Arcturus has not been exchanged for Mr. Smithson's mare I wish him and the Chickasaw mare to be disposed of immediately. I would take a fair wagon horse or mule for either rather than keep them. For Arcturus we ought certainly to get a first rate wagon horse or mule. Jerry and his wagon are to go to Bedford before Christmas. He is to start on the morning of Saturday, the 20th of December, and take with him a bull calf from Mr. Randolph, and the young ram which we have saved for that purpose. He is to proceed to my brother's the first day, and stay there the Sunday. He will take in there some things lodged there last year; to wit, a pair of fowls, some clover seed and some cow peas, and proceed with them to Poplar Forest."



could the dead feel any interest in Monu-
-ments or other remembrances of them, when, as
Anacreon says Ολιγη δε κεισομεσθα
Κονις, οσεων λυθεντων
the following would be to my Manes the most
gratifying.
On the grave
a plain die or cube of 3.f without any
mouldings, surmounted by an Obelisk
of 6.f. height, each of a single stone:
on the faces of the Obelisk the following
inscription, & not a word more
'Here was buried
Thomas Jefferson
Author of the Declaration of American Independance
of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom
& Father of the University of Virginia.'
because by these, as testimonials that I have lived, I wish most to
be remembered. ~~[illegible]~~ to be of the coarse stone of which
my columns are made, that no one may t be tempted
hereafter to destroy it for the value of the materials.
my bust by Ciracchi, with the pedistal and truncated
column on which it stands, might be given to the University
if they would place it in the Dome room of the Rotunda.
on the Die of the Obelisk might be engraved
Born Apr. 2. 1743. O.S.
Died —

FAC-SIMILE OF JEFFERSON'S INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING HIS MONUMENT

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IV

AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Few men write their own epitaphs, but it was like Thomas Jefferson to do so, and from the long inventory of his honors and achievements he selected three items by which he wished to be judged by his Maker and his fellow-men. He discarded all the honors that had been conferred upon him, ignored all the offices he had filled, and simply inscribed upon his tomb the fact that he had written the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Statute for Religious Liberty, and had founded the University of Virginia. In making this selection Jefferson showed remarkable insight into his own character and estimated with remarkable accuracy the verdict of posterity upon his public services. No one ever questioned the purity of his patriotism in the important part he played during the period of history that preceded the Revolution; and in the century of controversy over his acts and utterances his unselfishness and nobility of purpose in securing religious freedom and in founding an educational institution for his State have never been doubted. No other incidents in his career are so free from criticism and so untainted by political partisanship.

No doubt the Declaration of Independence would be torn to tatters by the critics if it were presented to Congress as an original document to-day. Its literary style would be condemned, the accuracy of its statements would be disputed, and it would

never be adopted or endorsed by either house of Congress without thorough revision; for there has been a decided change in literary taste and style since Jefferson's day. Fashions in literature change almost as rapidly as in clothing. The Declaration of Independence as a literary production was quite as perfect and appropriate for its time as the garments worn by the members of the Continental Congress. It was severely handled when it was submitted, and during the three subsequent days of debate Jefferson was mortified almost beyond endurance at the savage manner in which his fine phrases and lofty ideas were assailed. It has been criticised as "a mass of platitudes, plagiarized from various authors;" but the stately simplicity of the Lord's Prayer and the Sermon on the Mount are open to similar criticisms.

Thomas Jefferson honored Virginia more than any other of her sons except George Washington, but Virginia, one of the greatest and most ungrateful of States, has not honored Thomas Jefferson. His neighbors, to whose welfare he devoted so much time and labor, and to whom his achievements brought so much glory and honor, permitted him to die destitute, and his family to be driven by poverty from their home. They permitted his estates to pass into the hands of aliens who now stand in his footprints and measure the value of his greatest gift to the people of his State, —the University of Virginia, which they have never fully appreciated. They allowed his grave to be trampled upon and his tomb to be desecrated, and the General Government to restore the monument that was erected to his memory; and a citizen of New York to preserve and occupy the mansion in which he spent the best years of his life.

But Virginia also allowed the home of Washington to pass out of her hands, the home of Madison to be sold under the hammer, and the ruins of Jamestown, the first civilized settlement on the continent of North America, to be bought at auction by a lady from Ohio who had the generosity to present it to a patriotic society of women. No State in the Union has furnished more great men than Virginia; none has done so little to honor them.

Citizens of other States have been generous to the institution Thomas Jefferson founded, but the Legislature of Virginia has ever shown a penurious policy towards it. Down in Powhatan County there is a little post-office that bears the name of Jefferson, but it appears nowhere else upon the map of Virginia. Twenty-three other States have counties named Jefferson; forty-five other States have christened cities and towns in his name. Thirty-seven counties in the United States are called Washington, twenty-four are called Franklin, and twenty-two Jackson. In other States there are universities and other institutions of learning, hospitals, libraries, and monuments erected in his honor, but Virginia is without them, and within the limits of the State nothing bears his name except a hotel (lately burned) whose ornate architecture and decoration would have offended his sensitive, classical taste. Of all the great mountains and rivers and other great objects which he added to the national domain none have been called Jefferson.

The germ of patriotism was dropped into Jefferson's soul by Patrick Henry. About the time Jefferson entered college at Williamsburg he made the acquaintance of a hilarious, impecunious, irresponsible, reckless young lawyer, full of music and

humor, who was regarded by the neighbors as an incorrigible scamp, but soon in a single speech was to win the reputation of being the most eloquent and persuasive orator in America. In the loose methods of the courts of those days Patrick Henry was admitted to the bar after six weeks' study and a promise of future application, but the conduct of his first case made him famous throughout the colony.

Jefferson was on his way to Williamsburg to enter college when he first met Henry at the house of a Mr. Dandridge at Hanover, where they spent two pleasant weeks together and formed a friendship which lasted until political differences divided them. Jefferson was an intense admirer of Henry's oratory, courage, and wit, but frequently expresses his regret for his lack of industry and learning. Shortly before his death, while writing the reminiscences of his youth, he said of Henry's oratory: "I never heard anything that deserved to be called by the same name with what flowed from him, and where he got the torrent of language from is inconceivable. I have frequently shut my eyes while he spoke, and when he was done asked myself what he had said, without being able to recollect a word of it."

When Henry came to Williamsburg he frequently shared Jefferson's bed for the lack of money to pay a hotel bill, and thus the intimacy sprang up between them. It was on the fly-leaf of Jefferson's "Coke upon Littleton" that Henry wrote his famous resolutions, and it was from Jefferson's modest chamber that this briefless barrister went to the meeting of Burgesses in May, 1765, to make that famous speech against taxation without representation. Jefferson accompanied him to the little Court-House in Williamsburg, and, being

THE COURT-HOUSE AT WILLIAMSBURG

(Designed by Sir Christopher Wren)

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unable to secure entrance for the crowd, stood in the door-way and listened to truths and arguments that made him an arrant rebel against the king and all others in authority in the Virginia Colony. Henry never had a listener more attentive, or whose mind was held captive so completely as that of the student on the threshold. As a boy Jefferson was profoundly impressed by the oratory of an Indian chief, and Ossian's majestic phrases were music to his ears. Fifty-nine years afterwards he described this day as the most important in his life.

In Virginia the people had been born and bred to feel pride in the parliament and the king, the church, the literature, and the history of the mother country, and although Jefferson was a Whig by nature and conviction, his sense of justice was not greater than his attachment to England. Nevertheless from the time he heard that speech from Patrick Henry he became a changed man. "Torrents of sublime eloquence," he observed, "swept away all arguments on the other side, and the resolutions were carried, the last one by a single vote." But the next day, in the absence of the mighty eloquence which had made the timid brave, Henry's resolutions were expunged from the records upon the motion of Colonel Peter Randolph, an uncle of Jefferson. But the seed that had been implanted in fertile soil germinated and grew until Jefferson became eager to take an active part in the struggle that his foresight realized was before the colony.

When he finished his law studies in 1768 the advent of a new governor made necessary the election of a new House of Burgesses, and Jefferson, then twenty-five years old, offered himself as a candidate from Albemarle County. It was one of the

few political contests in his long life in which he took an active part, and during the winter he canvassed the county thoroughly for votes. He visited every house, soliciting the support of every citizen, and obtained pledges so far as possible. With the aid of his mother and sisters he entertained the voters of the county at Shadwell, where there was always a full punch-bowl and a hearty welcome. During the three days of election he supplied food and drink to the voters, attended personally at the polls, and thanked every man who cast a ballot for him. That was the custom of the day. Every citizen was compelled to vote at every election under a penalty of one hundred pounds of tobacco, but it was expected that the candidates would reward them and make the exercise of this duty as agreeable as possible by offering refreshments. In 1777 James Madison attempted to abolish this custom and lost his election. His failure to furnish luncheon and punch at the polls was ascribed to parsimony and his absence to snobbishness, and he was defeated by a large majority.

Jefferson's election was a matter of course, and he was very desirous of distinguishing himself. He wrote Madison long after that "in those days the esteem of the world was perhaps of higher value than anything in it," but his first legislative experience was brief, unsatisfactory, and amusing.

George Washington was elected at the same time, and took his seat with Jefferson in May, 1769. His appearance in the House of Burgesses immediately after the Braddock campaign created a flutter, for his fame had gone before him. By order of the Assembly, Speaker Robinson was directed to tender him the thanks of the people of Virginia, and did so with such an exuberance of

compliments that Washington was disconcerted and unable to reply. He rose, flushed, and faltered, whereupon the Speaker relieved his embarrassment by saying:

"Sit down, Colonel Washington, sit down. Your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."

On the following day Jefferson was assigned to his first public duty, and performed it with great pride. He was designated to prepare a reply to the speech of the governor, Lord Botetourt, but suffered the intense mortification of having his fine phrases rejected by the practical Burgesses, who were not accustomed to express their thoughts in such elegant diction. On the third day of that session were introduced the famous Four Resolutions, which was the first formal act of rebellion committed in the American colonies. They were in short: (1) no taxation without representation; (2) advocating the coöperation of the colonies in seeking redress for wrongs; (3) remonstrating against the injustice of sending accused persons away from the colony for trial; (4) advocating a formal remonstrance to the king. The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the Speaker was directed to send a copy to every legislative assembly on the continent.

Williamsburg was sleepless with excitement, and the night was spent by Jefferson, Washington, and their friends in speculating as to the probable action of the governor and the loyalists. The next morning Lord Botetourt's secretary entered the little room and announced that the governor commanded the presence of the Burgesses in the council chamber. The patriots stepped across the hall and stood respectful and expectant around the throne. Arrayed in his gorgeous robes of office and all the

dignity he could assume, the governor addressed them as follows:

"Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, I have heard of your resolves and augur ill of their effect. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are accordingly dissolved."

The new member from Albemarle listened with astonishment at this exercise of authority over the representatives of the people of Virginia assembled to frame laws for their protection and benefit, and thus saw the end of his first term in the colonial Legislature. After all his canvassing and treating, the labor and anxiety of his mother and sisters and himself, he enjoyed the honor of representing his native county but five days.

The governor could dissolve the House of Burgesses as an organization, but he could not extinguish the patriotism of its members, or suppress the indignation that they felt at his arbitrary repudiation of their rights. The next day they met in a mass convention and signed an address recommending their constituents to follow the example of the people of Massachusetts and boycott the manufacturers and merchants of Great Britain. They resolved to be more economical and industrious; never to buy an article taxed by Parliament excepting cheap qualities of paper, without which the business of life could not go on; never to patronize British ships; never to use an article imported from England that they could do without; and, finally, to save all their lambs in order to have wool enough to furnish their own clothing. Eighty-eight members of the House of Burgesses, including Washington and Jefferson, signed this document and were reëlected. The twelve who refused to do so were defeated at the next election, and were themselves boycotted throughout the colony.

These were defensive measures, but the first aggressive movement was at once decided upon at a conference of six or seven gentlemen, including Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, and Dabney Carr, Jefferson's brother-in-law, who gathered as usual in a private room of the Raleigh tavern at Williamsburg each evening in the early part of March, 1772.

The Massachusetts Assembly had already appointed a committee to correspond with the other colonial Legislatures upon subjects of common concern, and the young gentlemen at this gathering determined to propose a similar committee for the Virginia Burgesses. Resolutions were drawn and the next morning were offered by Dabney Carr and almost unanimously adopted. Jefferson and Patrick Henry were appointed on the committee.

"The next event which excited our sympathy," said Jefferson in his autobiography, "was the Boston Port Bill by which that port was to be shut on the first of June 1774." "We were under conviction of the necessity of arousing our people from the lethargy into which they had fallen, and thought that the appointment of a day of fasting and prayer would be most likely to call up and alarm their attention." Therefore these young rebels rummaged the records for revolutionary precedents and forms used by the Puritans of that day, and, said Jefferson, "we cooked up a resolution for appointing the first day of June for a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, to implore heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war, to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of the king and Parliament to moderation and justice."

Edmund Randolph, in his "History of Vir-

ginia," says that both Jefferson and Charles Lee suggested the plan of a fast-day, and wrote the proclamation, although Jefferson, when President, refused to issue thanksgiving and fast-day proclamations because he considered them a form of religious coercion.

The next morning they induced Robert Carter Nicholas, "whose grave and religious character was more in unison with the tone of the resolutions," to offer them. They were passed without opposition, "and the governor dissolved us as usual," said Jefferson with grim humor.

The little self-appointed committee of young amateur revolutionists still continued to meet at the Raleigh tavern and instructed their Committee on Correspondence to propose to similar committees in the other colonies the appointment of delegates to meet in a general Congress. "It was acceded to," said Jefferson. "Philadelphia was appointed as the place and the 5th of September for the time of meeting." Thus, there and then, in the little room in the Williamsburg tavern, was conceived and born that body whose resolutions were to separate the American colonies from the mother country, and establish a precedent which has been gratefully emulated by all the other republics in the world.

A State Convention was called at Richmond. Jefferson was appointed a delegate from Albemarle County, but was detained by an attack of dysentery. He had drawn up a document, which he afterwards used as his model for the Declaration of Independence and which contained some of its phrases, and sent one copy of it to Peyton Randolph and another to Patrick Henry. "Whether Mr. Henry disapproved of the ground taken," said Jefferson in his autobiography, "or was too lazy to read it (for he was the laziest man in reading I ever

knew), I never learned, but he communicated it to nobody." Randolph laid his copy before the convention, which ordered it printed in pamphlet form under the title "A Summary View of the Rights of British America." In that form it found its way to England and was Thomas Jefferson's first introduction on that side of the ocean, where a few years afterwards his name became well known. The pamphlet was pronounced treasonable, and Jefferson had the honor of being one of the first men in the American colonies to be publicly denounced and proscribed.

In March, 1775, we find young Jefferson again in Richmond attending the convention, when Patrick Henry hurried the willing people into revolution by a speech that still thrills the hearts of American school-boys, and Jefferson was appointed to assist Washington and others to devise a plan for placing the colony on a military basis. Before the convention adjourned, and before his committee had undertaken active work, he was elected to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress in the place of Peyton Randolph, who was recalled to preside over the House of Burgesses.

Jefferson went to Philadelphia on horseback from Monticello; he had an allowance of forty-five shillings a day and a shilling a mile for his travelling-expenses. He was thirty-two years of age, and there were only two men younger than he in the Continental Congress. The new member from Virginia was welcomed, says John Adams, "as he brought with him a reputation for literature, science and a happy talent for composition." It was whispered about that, in addition to Latin and Greek, he understood French, Italian, and Spanish; was learning German and intended to master Gaelic "if he could get the books from

Scotland;" that he could calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a case, break a horse, dance a minuet, and play the violin,—a long list of accomplishments that were admired by the sixty serious gentlemen in silk stockings and pigtails who sat in the plain brick building up a narrow alley in Philadelphia and called themselves "the honorable Congress." But with all his versatility Jefferson lacked the talent of oratory. Like St. Paul, his pen was powerful but his tongue was weak. Conscious of this weakness, he discussed the art freely and with many wise comments in his letters to his friends. "The finest thing in my opinion, which the English language has produced," he once said to a friend, "is the defense of Eugene Aram spoken by himself at the bar of the York assizes."

Jefferson's voice was weak and husky and he was never able to raise it above the tone of ordinary conversation; he was not fluent when upon his feet; there was no fire nor magnetism in his presence, but we have the testimony of John Adams that "he was so prompt, frank, explicit and decisive upon committees and in conversation that he soon won my heart."

His colleagues soon called his talent for composition into practical use. Before he had been five days in Philadelphia he was designated to prepare for publication a statement of the reasons for Lexington and Bunker Hill, and the causes which impelled the colonies to take up arms. Livingston had presented a draft of a document by John Jay, but the Congress was exceedingly anxious concerning the form as well as the substance of its utterances, because of an exalted idea of its duty and the importance of its work. The members felt that the eyes of the universe were upon

them, and that the embryo nation was already on trial. Jay's composition was not acceptable, and the young member from Virginia was asked to try his hand, but his fiery utterances were too strong for the conservative members, who still hoped for a reconciliation with the king. However, he must have made a distinct impression both as a writer and a reasoner, for a few weeks later, when the Congress came to elect a committee to prepare a reply to Lord North's "Conciliatory Propositions," Jefferson received the largest number of ballots,—more even than Benjamin Franklin and John Adams, who were associated with him. As he had already drawn Virginia's answer to that unsatisfactory overture, he was asked to prepare one for the Congress also, which was unanimously approved, for by this time his shrewd mind had measured the mental caliber and disposition of his colleagues and taught him how to please them.

At the adjournment in August, Jefferson went back to the convention at Richmond, and was immediately elected to a seat in the next Continental Congress. He returned to Philadelphia in September, where active preparations were in progress for the war. A secret agent of the French government had arrived, and the confidence of the Congress in Jefferson was shown by his selection with Franklin and Jay to take the first steps that led to the alliance that enabled the colonies to win their cause. In May the Virginia Convention passed resolutions of independence, and on the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, the dean of the delegation from that State, submitted them to Congress and moved a formal declaration of independence.

The form in which this declaration should be presented to the world was deemed highly impor-

tant, and a committee of five was elected by ballot,—Thomas Jefferson, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and R. R. Livingston. Because of his skill with the pen Mr. Jefferson again received the largest number of votes and became chairman of the most important committee appointed by the Continental Congress. "Writings of his were handed about, remarkable for the peculiar felicity of expression," said Adams, and for that reason he was designated to prepare the draft of a declaration. He was engaged eighteen days upon the task. He appreciated the responsibility and probably realized that it was the most important duty of his life. It is a curious fact, however, that while he was thus engaged Jefferson narrowly escaped defeat for reëlection to Congress, having received next to the smallest number of votes cast for any of the candidates in Virginia.

John Adams has left us the most interesting and probably the most accurate account of the proceedings of the committee. There were several meetings, he said, in which the subject was generally discussed and various propositions suggested which Jefferson was asked "to clothe in proper dress." "Mr. Jefferson desired me to make the draught," Adams says. "This I declined and gave several reasons for declining. First, that he was a Virginian and I a Massachesettensian, and it was the policy to place Virginia at the head of everything. 2. He was a Southern man and I a northern one. 3. I had been so unpopular and obnoxious for my early and continual zeal in promoting the measure that any draught of mine would undergo more criticism and scrutiny in Congress than one of his composition, and 4. and lastly, there would be reason enough if there

were no other, I had a great opinion of the elegance of his pen and none at all of my own."

Jefferson first submitted his manuscript to Adams and Franklin, who suggested some verbal changes of no importance. "I was delighted with its high tone," continues Adams, "and the flights of oratory in which it abounded, especially that concerning negro slavery, which though I knew his southern brethren would never suffer to pass in Congress, I never would oppose. There were other clauses which I would not have inserted, if I had drawn it up, particularly that which called the king a tyrant. I thought this too personal, for I never believed George to be a tyrant in disposition or in nature.

"We reported to the committee of five. It was read and I do not remember that Franklin or Sherman criticised anything. Congress was impatient and the instrument was reported in Jefferson's hand writing as he originally drew it. Congress cut off about a quarter of it as I expected they would, but they obliterated some of the best of it."

Jefferson was not pleased with Adams's version, and in 1823, forty-seven years after the fact, gave his own as follows:

"The Committee of five met; no such things as a sub-committee was proposed, but they unanimously pressed on myself alone to undertake the draft. I consented; I drew it; but before I reported it to the Committee, I communicated it separately to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, requesting their correction, because they were the two members of whose judgments and amendments I wished most to have the benefit, before presenting it to the Committee; and you have seen the original paper now in my hands, with the corrections

of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, interlined in their own handwritings. Their alterations were two or three only, and merely verbal. I then wrote a fair copy, reported it to the Committee, and from them, unaltered, to Congress. Pickering's observations, and Adams's in addition, 'that it contained no new ideas, that it is a common-place compilation, its sentiments hackneyed in Congress for two years before, and its essence contained in Otis's pamphlet,' may all be true. Of that I am not to be the judge. Richard Henry Lee charged it as copied from Locke's 'Treatise on Civil Government.' Otis's pamphlet I never saw, and whether I had gathered my ideas from reading or reflection, I do not know. I know only that I turned to neither book nor pamphlet while writing it. I did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas altogether, and to offer no sentiment which had ever been expressed before.

"This, however, I will say for Mr. Adams, that he supported the Declaration with zeal and ability, fighting fearlessly for every word of it. As for myself, I thought it a duty to be, on that occasion, a passive auditor of the opinions of others, more impartial judges than I could be, of its merits or demerits. During the debate I was sitting by Dr. Franklin, and he observed that I was writhing a little under the acrimonious criticisms of some of its parts; and it was on that occasion, that by way of comfort, he told me the story of John Thompson, the hatter, and his new sign.

"At the time of writing the Declaration, I lodged in the house of a Mr. Graaf, a new brick house, three stories high, of which I rented the second floor, consisting of a parlor and bedroom, ready furnished. In that parlor I wrote habitually, and in it wrote this paper, particularly. So far I

state from written proofs in my possession. The proprietor, Graaf, was a young man, son of a German, and then newly married. I think he was a bricklayer, and that his house was on the south side of Market Street, probably between Seventh and Eighth Streets, and if not the only house on that part of the street, I am sure there were few others near it."

There has long been a dispute as to the house in which the Declaration was written, four buildings in the city of Philadelphia claiming the honor, but the testimony of Jefferson as above given has been accepted as final, and a tablet now marks the spot, which is occupied by a banking building at the corner of Seventh and Market Streets.

As Adams and Jefferson agree, the committee suggested only a few unimportant verbal changes, but the three days' discussion that followed in the House was critical and caustic, causing Jefferson's sensitive nature intense mortification, although any critic who compares the original draft and that which was finally adopted must admit that the document was considerably improved. Congress suppressed eighteen sentences, amended ten, and added six. There were also some verbal alterations; for example, where Jefferson said that men "are endowed with inherent and inalienable rights," Congress struck out "inherent." A clause reading "to prove this let the facts be submitted to a candid world, for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood" was stricken out. The paragraph denouncing slavery, which Jefferson had prepared with so much eloquence, and which pleased Adams, was omitted because a majority of the members thought it inconsistent to hold George III. responsible for a slave-trade carried on by New England ship-

masters for the benefit of the cotton and tobacco planters of the South.

Jefferson sat silent throughout the entire debate, so conscious of his weakness in oratory that he did not allow himself to defend the pet passages in his momentous document. The responsibility of presenting and sustaining the report of the committee was ably assumed by John Adams, whom Jefferson gratefully called "the Colossus" of that great debate. There is no telling how much the discussion might have been prolonged but for the interposition of a swarm of hungry flies, which came in through the open windows from a livery stable in the neighborhood and stung the legs of the honorable members through their silk stockings. Jefferson, who usually had very little sense of humor, used to tell the story with great amusement, and is authority for the statement that the annoyance became at length so great that a vote was demanded before the document had been discussed by many gentlemen who desired to speak upon it.

There has always been a controversy as to the manner in which the Declaration was signed, but we know from his own testimony that it was adopted late on Thursday afternoon, July 4, and was held open for signatures until late in the following August because some of the delegates thought it best to await explicit instructions from their States.

Although they fully realized the solemnity and importance of their proceedings, the honorable delegates indulged in a few jests, and the best of them have survived the century. When John Hancock affixed his magnificent signature he remarked, "There, John Bull can read my name without his spectacles."

When Hancock urged the members of the Congress to hang together, Franklin retorted,—

"Yes, we must hang together or we shall all hang separately."

Benjamin Harrison, who is described by John Adams as "a luxurious, heavy gentleman," remarked to Elbridge Gerry, who was very small of stature,—

"When the hanging comes I shall have the advantage, for you will be kicking in the air when it is all over with me."

In one of the corridors of the Capitol at Washington is a marble statue of John Hancock, which bears upon its pedestal the following inscription:

> "He wrote his name where
> all nations should behold it
> and all time should
> not efface it."

On the Monday following, at noon, the Declaration was publicly read for the first time in Independence Square, Philadelphia, from a platform erected by David Rittenhouse for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus. Captain John Hopkins, the young commander of the first armed brig of the navy of the new nation, was the reader, and his stentorian voice carried the words to all the multitude who had assembled to hear it.

In the evening, as a newspaper of the day has it, "our late king's coat-of-arms was brought from the hall of the State House, where the said king's courts were formerly held, and burned amid the acclamations of a crowd of spectators." Similar scenes were enacted in every town and village, and at every camp and post. Usually the militia companies, the Committee of Safety, and other revolutionary bodies marched in procession to some

public place, where, after listening to the reading of the Declaration, cheers were given and salutes fired; and in the evening there were illuminations and bonfires. In New York, after the reading, "a leaden statue of the late king in Bowling Green was laid prostrate in the dirt, and ordered to be run into bullets." The debtors in prison were set at liberty. Virginia, before the news of the Declaration had reached her (July 5, 1776), had stricken the king's name from the Prayer-Book; and Rhode Island imposed a fine of one thousand pounds upon any one who prayed for him.

The draft of the Declaration of Independence, as submitted to the committee, and the desk upon which it was written, are still preserved in the Department of State at Washington. The writing is legible and shows the interlineations in the handwriting of Franklin and Adams to which Jefferson alludes. The original draft, of which the former is a fair copy, was written upon several sheets of legal-cap paper and is full of corrections. This was given by Jefferson to his colleague, Richard Henry Lee, the dean of the Virginia delegation, who under instructions from his State moved the Declaration of Independence. The precious manuscript was kept in Lee's family until 1825, when his grandson and namesake presented it to the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, with a certificate from Jefferson that it is genuine.

During the weeks and months that he was detained in Philadelphia Jefferson employed his time in preparing a constitution for the State of Virginia, but the copy he sent to the convention arrived too late. His preamble was adopted, however, and bears a striking resemblance to the Declaration of Independence, of which it was a paraphrase.

Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson were appointed by the Continental Congress a committee to devise a seal and a coat-of-arms for the new-born nation, and prepared a most extraordinary design representing the Children of Israel in the wilderness followed by Pharaoh and led by a cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night, and "clouds radiant with the hidden presence of God;" while on the other side were "Hengist and Horsa, the Saxon chiefs from whom we claim the honor of being descended, and whose political principles and forms of government we have assumed." Fortunately, this complicated design was all rejected except that stately legend, "*E Pluribus Unum.*"

Another design proposed by Jefferson represented a father presenting a bundle of rods to his son with the motto, "*Insuperabiles si Inseparabiles.*"

V

JEFFERSON IN OFFICE

ACCORDING to his own calculations, Jefferson's public life covered sixty-one years. He was actually in office thirty-nine years. His estimate included the time he spent in the revision of the laws of his State and laboring for the University of Virginia. He was elected to the House of Burgesses in 1769, when he was twenty-six years old, and served continually until 1775, when he was sent to the Continental Congress. At the same time he was a member of the Virginia Assembly until 1779, when he became governor and served two years. In 1781 and again in 1783 he was elected to Congress. In 1784 he was sent as minister to France, and returned in 1789 to accept the portfolio of state in Washington's Cabinet, which he resigned in 1793. After spending three years at Monticello he was inaugurated Vice-President in 1796, was elected President in 1800, and served until March 4, 1809.

Jefferson enumerated his own public services in a memorandum which was evidently prepared for the guidance of his future biographer. He also included a similar synopsis in his "Thoughts on Lotteries," which was presented to the Virginia Legislature with a petition for authority to dispose of his property in that way. It was an explanation and defence of his poverty; to show that he had deprived himself of his estates by devoting his time and talents to the public. "I came of

age in 1764, and was soon put into the nomination of justice of the county in which I lived," he says, "and at the first election following I became one of its representatives in the legislature. I was soon sent to the old Congress. Then employed two years with Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Wythe on the revisal and reduction to a single code of the whole body of the British statutes, the acts of our assembly and certain parts of the common law. Then elected governor. Next to the legislature and to Congress again. Sent to Europe as minister plenipotentiary. Appointed Secretary of State of the new government. Elected Vice President and President. And lastly a visitor and Rector of the University of Virginia. In these different offices with scarcely any interval between them, I have been in the public service now sixty one years. And during the far greater part of the time in foreign countries or in other States."

In enumerating what he had accomplished for the benefit of his country, he begins with the removal of the obstructions in the Rivanna River so that it could be used "completely and fully for carrying down all our produce." He next mentions the Declaration of Independence and then says:

"I proposed the demolition of the Church Establishment, and the Freedom of Religion. It could only be done by degrees; to wit, the Act of 1776, c. 2, exempted dissenters from contributions to the Church and left the Church clergy to be supported by voluntary contributions of their own sect; was continued from year to year, and made perpetual 1779, c. 36. I prepared the Act for Religious Freedom in 1777, as part of the Revisal, which was not reported to the Assembly

till 1779, and that particular law not passed till 1785, and then by the efforts of Mr. Madison.

"The Act putting an end to Entails.

"The Act prohibiting the Importation of Slaves.

"The Act concerning Citizens and establishing the natural right of man to expatriate himself at will.

"The Act changing the course of Descents, and giving the inheritance to all the children, &c., equally, I drew as part of the Revisal.

"The Act for Apportioning Crimes and Punishments, part of the same work, I drew. When proposed to the Legislature, by Mr. Madison, in 1785, it failed by a single vote. G. K. Taylor afterwards, in 1796, proposed the same subject; avoiding the adoption of any part of the diction of mine, the text of which had been studiously drawn in the technical terms of the law, so as to give no occasion for new questions by new expressions. When I drew mine, public labor was thought the best punishment to be substituted for death. But, while I was in France, I heard of a society in England, who had successfully introduced solitary confinement, and saw the drawing of a prison at Lyons, in France, formed on the idea of solitary confinement. And, being applied to by the Governor of Virginia for the plan of a Capitol and Prison I sent him the Lyons plan, accompanying it with a drawing on a smaller scale, better adapted to our use. This was in June, 1786. Mr. Taylor very judiciously adopted this idea (which had now been acted on in Philadelphia, probably from the English model), and substituted labor in confinement for the public labor proposed by the Committee on Revisal; which themselves would have done, had they been called to act on the subject again. The public mind was

ripe for this in 1796, when Mr. Taylor proposed it, and ripened chiefly by the experiment in Philadelphia; whereas, in 1785, when it had been proposed to our Assembly, they were not quite ripe for it.

"In 1789 and 1790 I had a great number of olive plants, of the best kind, sent from Marseilles to Charleston, for South Carolina and Georgia. They were planted and are flourishing, and though not yet multiplied, they will be the germ of that cultivation in those States.

"In 1790, I got a cask of heavy upland rice from the river Denbigh, in Africa, about Latitude 9° 30′ North, which I sent to Charleston, in hopes it might supersede the culture of the wet rice, which renders South Carolina and Georgia so pestilential through the summer. It was divided and a part sent to Georgia. I know not whether it has been attended to in South Carolina; but it has spread in the upper parts of Georgia, so as to have become almost general, and is highly prized. Perhaps it may answer in Tennessee and Kentucky. The greatest service which can be rendered the country is, to add an useful plant to its culture; especially a bread grain; next in value to bread is oil.

"Whether the Act for the more General Diffusion of Knowledge will ever be carried into complete effect, I know not. It was received by the Legislature with great enthusiasm at first; and a small effort was made in 1796, by the act to establish public schools, to carry a part of it into effect, viz., that for the establishment of free English schools; but the option given to the courts has defeated the intention of the act."

Jefferson's career as Governor of Virginia was the most disagreeable period of his life, not ex-

cepting his sacrifices to escape bankruptcy. His biographers differ materially as to the success of his administration. Some of them say he was not a good governor; others insist that he was not a bad one, and with great solicitude endeavor to prove the negative. The local prejudice of the time pronounced him disgracefully inefficient. His apologists urged extenuating circumstances. Jefferson himself pleaded not guilty, and demanded that his critics should formulate their charges and confront him at the bar of the Legislature.

In his memoirs he omits all references to the governorship except his ex-officio connection with William and Mary College, and apologizes on the plea of modesty, although he was not usually troubled with that quality. Nothing in all his career mortified him so much as the general disapproval of his policy and conduct as governor, and it continued to distress him after everybody else had forgotten the events thrown so entirely into the shadow by his brilliant administration during the first term of his Presidency.

He sought an election to the Assembly the year following, in order to secure a vindication, and one of the members from his county resigned to make a vacancy for him. At the proper time he arose in the Assembly and demanded that his accusers should be compelled to make formal charges. No one responded. Jefferson then made a speech defending his record and his motives, and one of his neighbors introduced a resolution which was unanimously adopted, thanking "Thomas Jefferson, Esq. for his impartial, upright and attentive administration, while in office," and declaring that the Assembly "entertained a high opinion of his ability and rectitude as chief magistrate of the commonwealth." That ought to have satisfied an

ordinary man, but his subsequent writings reveal his wounded pride by the omission of all reference to his governorship. He retired to Monticello, secluded himself, and occupied his time by attending to his farm and writing his famous "Notes on Virginia," which many think the best of all his published works.

"I felt," he wrote, "that these injuries, for such they have since been acknowledged, had inflicted a wound on my spirit which will only be cured by the all-healing grave."

The chief complaint against Jefferson's administration was his neglect to prepare for an invasion of Virginia by the British, for Lord Cornwallis found the State entirely unprotected and committed depredations in every direction. He practically destroyed Richmond, the infant capital, and the members of the Legislature who had fled to Charlottesville were very nearly captured. Jefferson had a narrow escape. Monticello was protected by the British commander, but his other estates were destroyed.

His opponent for the governorship was no other than John Page, a classmate at William and Mary College, and in those days his most intimate friend, excepting his brother-in-law, Dabney Carr. To him he wrote the sentimental letters that are quoted by his biographers concerning his love affairs. The contest for the governorship was a warm one, but between the candidates the most cordial feelings continued. Jefferson was elected by a margin of a very few votes. Twenty-three years later Page was again nominated for governor, and President Jefferson had an opportunity to congratulate him upon his success.

Nothing could have been more congenial or delightful to Jefferson than the society in which he

moved in Paris. At the head of an elegant establishment, as an American and the friend of Lafayette, his house was the favorite resort of all the accomplished and gallant young French officers who had enthusiastically taken up arms in the defence of liberty in the New World; while as a philosopher and author of the "Notes on Virginia," his company was sought for and enjoyed by the most distinguished savants and men of science, who at that age thronged from all parts of Europe to the great French capital. Nor were the ease and grace of his address, the charm of his manners and conversation, and the versatility of his learning lost upon the witty and handsome women at the court of the amiable young Louis XVI. and the lovely Marie Antoinette. His social intercourse with them was gratifying, and the pleasant friendships formed with some of those he met in Paris continued to the end of his days, as his correspondence testifies.

At first he suffered the usual embarrassments of American ministers. He could read but not speak the French language, and was sorely puzzled how to arrange his style of living so that he might keep his expenses within his salary of nine thousand dollars a year. The first difficulty diminished every hour, though he never trusted himself to write in French on any matter of consequence; but the art of living in the style of a plenipotentiary upon the allowance fixed by Congress was a problem to the end. Nor could he expect much revenue from Virginia. He left behind him a list of debts arising from the losses and devastation of the war that the proceeds of his crops and the arrears of his salary as governor, voted by the Legislature, did not satisfy.

He lived with the easy hospitality of Virginia,

which harmonized as well with the humor of the time as with his own character and habits. Few formal dinners, but always a well-spread table; no grand parties, but an evening circle that attracted the people he desired to meet. If he had a difficult question of diplomacy to discuss, it was usual with him to invite the parties interested to one of his wholesome " family dinners," and afterwards, under its conciliating influence, introduce the troublesome topic. That prince of gossips and story-tellers, Baron Grimm, was among his familiar acquaintances. Madame De Staël, who was married during Jefferson's second year in Paris, he knew both as the daughter of Necker and as the brilliant young wife of the Swedish ambassador.

While he was minister, Ledyard, the Connecticut adventurer, came to the legation, poor and disappointed, plagued with a mania to roam over the earth. He had sailed with Cook, and exposed the barbarity of that navigator; had seen on the western coast of North America the richest of all fur-bearing regions. From his youth Jefferson had wondered what might lie between Monticello and the Pacific Ocean. It was an inherited curiosity, for all Virginians had felt it from the time when Captain John Smith sailed up the Chickahominy in search of a passage to the South Sea. He proposed to Ledyard to make his way through Russia to Kamtchatka; thence by some chance vessel to what we now call Oregon; and then explore the unknown wilderness to the western settlements of the United States. Through Baron Grimm he obtained a passport and permission for Ledyard to cross Siberia, but it was afterwards revoked by Catherine the Great.

His long residence in Paris made him an ardent

admirer of the French people and an enthusiastic champion of the French Revolution, which had a powerful influence in shaping his own political convictions, and at the same time inspired him with the bitterest prejudice against the British nation and people, although he frequently admitted the excellence of their form of government. He was constantly consulted by the leaders of the Revolution, and went daily to Versailles to hear the debates.

His prejudice against the British was not modified by a visit to London, where he was presented to the king and queen by John Adams, and was not received with cordiality. He says: "It was impossible for anything to be more ungracious than their notice of Mr. Adams and myself." He never forgot this offence to his dignity, and his hostility did not soften until his old age, when, in 1823, he remarked to President Monroe, that "we should more sedulously cherish a cordial friendship for Great Britain as the nation that can do us the most harm of any one on earth, and with her on our side, we need not fear the whole world."

Notwithstanding his admiration for France and his affection for the French people, his residence in that country made him the more genuinely an American. He advised Monroe to visit France, because, he said, "it will make you adore your own country; its soil, its climate, its equality, its liberty, laws, people and manners." He compared America to Heaven and France to Hell, with England as an intermediate station.

It is interesting to speculate upon what might have followed if Congress, in distributing diplomatic honors among the founders of the new republic, had sent John Adams to France and Jefferson to England; for the plastic mind of the

young Virginian received impressions during his five years at the French capital which remained forever, and had a powerful influence upon his public career and upon the policy of his administration.

Jefferson did much to confirm the French people in their friendship for the United States during the five years he spent in Paris under the monarchy as well as the republic. Only once in all that time was there a blunder, and this through no fault of his, for Lafayette, for whom he had a great affection and in whom he reposed full confidence, without consulting him, invited a group of the Revolutionary leaders to dine at Jefferson's house in order that they might seek his advice. Jefferson was greatly annoyed, rebuked Lafayette for his imprudence, and called promptly upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs with a frank explanation and apology.

Jefferson's experience as Secretary of State is discussed at length in other chapters. As Vice-President he had little to do, because the requirements of his office were limited, and President Adams declined to admit him to a share of responsibility in the administration of the government. This left him plenty of leisure to organize the Democratic party and promote his own political advancement, which was done with remarkable skill and resulted in his election as Adams's successor in the Presidency.

Among Jefferson's first acts after his inauguration was to write an affectionate letter to Samuel Adams,—who, at more than eighty years of age, was then living in retirement in Massachusetts,—thanking him for his support and good will, and saying: "I address a letter to you, my very dear and ancient friend, the fourth of March,—not indeed to you by name, but through the medium of

my fellow citizens whom the occasion called on me to address. In meditating the matter of that address I often asked myself Is this exactly in the spirit of the patriarch Samuel Adams? Will he approve of it? How I lament that the time has deprived me of your aid, but give us your counsel, my friend, and give us your blessing."

Having received a gratifying reply, he wrote Samuel Adams again, a few months later, closing an affectionate letter thus: "May that kind and overruling Providence which has so long spared you to our wishes, still foster your remaining years with whatever may make them comfortable to yourself and soothing to your friends. Accept this cordial salutation of your affectionate friend."

He promptly wrote to Dr. Priestley, the Unitarian scholar, inviting him to be a guest at the White House; and to Thomas Paine, then an exile in Paris, living in poverty and squalor, to whom he offered an office. Paine said that he "should like to be sent as Secretary of Legation to the English Court, which outlawed me. What a hubbub it would create at the king's levee to see Tom Paine presented by the American ambassador. All the bishops and women would faint away." He also selected for distinction every other Republican and personal friend who had suffered from the prejudices of the people or the attacks of the Federalists, and opened the prison doors to those who had been convicted under the alien and sedition laws.

He selected for his Cabinet college-bred men who were identified with scientific investigation or had aided to promote the material interests of the country. It was natural that he should name James Madison, his closest friend, for the first place. Gallatin, the famous Swiss savant and financier, who

was made Secretary of the Treasury, was the founder of the glass industry in this country. Dearborn, of Maine, the new Secretary of War, a graduate of Harvard, was a village doctor in New Hampshire when a horseman brought the news of the battle of Lexington. Before the end of the day he had enlisted sixty men and was leading them towards Concord. Robert Smith, Secretary of the Navy, was a graduate of Princeton, provost of the University of Maryland, and president of the Agricultural Society of that State. Gideon Granger, the Postmaster-General, educated at Yale, was a lawyer of high distinction and had shown his public spirit by donating a thousand acres of land for the benefit of the Erie Canal. Chancellor Livingston, who declined a seat in the Cabinet, was one of the foremost scholars and the most liberal patron of science yet seen in America. He furnished Robert Fulton the money to build his steamboat.

Immediately after his inauguration Jefferson began his reforms, and we find by his diary that his first act was to order the removal from office of all of the eleventh-hour officials appointed by President Adams, on the ground that their nominations, as late as nine o'clock on the evening of the last day of the session, some of them within three hours of the expiration of his official term as President, were improper and unlawful, inasmuch as it was an exercise of authority belonging to his successor. He also ordered the removal of "all marshalls and attorneys where Federals except in particular cases," and he notes in his diary, as one exception, a marshal in Massachusetts who "tho fed he is moderate & prudent & will be repub." His reasons for removing these officials were: "The courts being so decidedly Federal and

irremovable, it is believed that repub attorneys and marshals, being the doors of entrance into the courts are indispensably necessary as a shield to the repub part of our fellow cits, which I believe is the main body of the people."

Jefferson believed in rotation in office, and a change of officials with a change of administration. "If the will of the nation manifested by their various elections calls for an administration of government according to the opinion of those elected, displacements are necessary," he declares, "in order that the new administration may have the cordial coöperation of its subordinates." When first advanced this was called a revolutionary idea, "involving the principle of a thorough change in subordinate offices with the change of administration in order that the political principles and sentiments of the subordinates may be the same as those of the head." It created a great sensation among people who up to that time had not been divided into political parties, but Jefferson was deaf to remonstrances. In a letter to James Monroe, shortly after he had been sworn in as President in 1801, he said: "I have firmly refused to follow the councils of those who have desired the giving offices to some of their leaders (Federalists) in order to reconcile. I have given and will give only to republicans under existing circumstances. But I believe with others that deprivation of office, if made on the ground of political principles alone, would revolt our new Congress and give a body to leaders who now stand alone. Some I know must be made. There must be as few as possible, . . . according to the impression we perceive them to make."

However, Jefferson was not the author of the spoils system, as is popularly supposed. Adams

was more of a "spoilsman" than he. Jefferson treated his political opponents liberally, whether from policy or principle. Adams presumed upon his generosity, and made a number of appointments during the closing days of his administration which Jefferson resented and declared "an outrage upon decency." Adams was the first President to appoint relatives to office, including his own son, who was commissioner of bankruptcy at Boston, one of the most profitable offices in his gift.

This Jefferson believed to be entirely wrong, and wrote to a friend, "The public will never be made to believe that the appointment of a relative is made on the ground of merit alone uninfluenced by family views, nor can they ever see with approbation offices divided out as family property. Mr. Adams degraded himself infinitely by his conduct on this subject." In a letter to J. C. Cabell, written shortly before his death, Jefferson said, "In the course of the trusts I have exercised through life with powers of appointment, I can say with truth and with unspeakable comfort that I never did appoint a relation to office, and that merely because I never saw the case in which some one did not offer or occur better qualified."

Jefferson was not in favor of the appointment of women to office. Gallatin when Secretary of the Treasury nominated one, but was stopped by a little note which read: "T. J. to Mr. Gallatin: The appointment of a woman to office is an innovation for which the public is not prepared nor am I."

He was opposed to a candidate for office expending money to aid in his election, and in the Constitution of the State of Virginia, which he prepared, he inserted a paragraph that "no person shall be capable of acting in any office, civil, military or ecclesiastical who had so expended money."

Jefferson was very exact in his accounts and noted every item of his expenditures, and there is no record of any contribution for political purposes. He even put down the fees he gave the servants at his wedding and the shilling that he paid for admission to Ann Hathaway's Cottage at Stratford, but there is not a dollar of political contribution anywhere referred to, except on the occasion of his first election to the House of Burgesses soon after he became of age, when he furnished punch and luncheon to the voters, according to the customs of the time.

Jefferson's intentions, on taking the Presidency, were admirable. There is no reason to believe that he was insincere when he declared his conviction that "fitness for the position, and respectable and unexceptionable character," should be required for official appointment, and that political prejudice should not cause the removal of a competent person or the appointment of an incompetent one. These intentions, however, were not strictly observed in practice.

At the beginning of the administration of Jefferson there were only four hundred and thirty-three officials subject to appointment by the President and confirmation by the Senate. During his first year he removed one hundred and twenty-four of those who had been appointed by his predecessor. Of these forty were the so-called "midnight" appointments made by John Adams within a few days or hours of the expiration of his term of office. Sixteen were consuls, ten were commercial agents, eleven were United States district attorneys, eighteen United States marshals, twenty-six collectors, three naval officers, six surveyors, four supervisors of revenue, seventeen justices of the peace, and the rest were miscellaneous. James

Madison had eight hundred and twenty-four officials subject to his jurisdiction, and removed one hundred and sixteen of those appointed by his predecessor. Monroe was more generous, and removed but sixty-eight.

John Adams had appointed no Republicans to office; yet he expected Jefferson to retain Federalists who had held places but a few days or weeks. "The republicans have been excluded from all offices from the first origin of the division into republicans and federalists," Jefferson said in reply. "They have a reasonable claim to vacancies until they occupy their due share." He announced that he intended to appoint his friends rather than his opponents. "We do not mean to leave arms in the hands of our active enemies," he said apologetically, "yet I hope our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power, the greater it will be."

A system of espionage for reasons for removal was established, and Levi Lincoln was employed in the capacity of a detective to pick out political offenders against the principles of the administration and report them to Jefferson, leaving the rest to him. However, Jefferson himself could not approve of his own cause. He wrote Levi Lincoln, October 25, 1802: "I still think our original idea as to the office is best, *i.e.,* to depend for the obtaining a just participation on deaths, resignations, and delinquencies. . . . This is rather a slow operation, but it is sure if we pursue it steadily, which, however, has not been done with that undeviating resolution I could have wished."

While studying the development of his policy, one is impressed with the growing emphasis placed upon political opinion as a cause for removal. At first the only revenge to be taken was removal

for cause. A little later political considerations entered, and good men were sacrificed for the sake of gaining party influence. Offensive partisanship was recognized and plans were made to detect it.

The following changes in the civil service were made during Jefferson's first administration:

5	district judgeships out of	17
14	district attorneyships out of	22
15	marshalships out of	22
41	collectorships out of	82
4	naval officerships out of	11
18	surveyorships out of	30
67	various positions out of (about)	150
164		334

When allowance is made for political conversions, both genuine and politic, it is evident that very few Federalists were left in office at the end of 1804. Added to the evidence furnished by these figures is a letter from Jefferson to Duane, written in the latter part of 1803, and stating that every possible removal had been made, and that of three hundred and sixteen offices, only one hundred and thirty remained in Federalist hands.

Some of these removals were doubtless made for good cause. There must have been irregularities in the customs service, and there probably was more or less of abuse in the judiciary. Jefferson admits that sixteen of his removals were for political reasons, where no cause existed, the sole motive being to obtain places for political followers. In a letter to Joseph Cooper Nicholson he says: "So that sixteen only have been removed in the whole for political principles—that is to say, to make some room for some participation for the Republicans."

If Jefferson did not appreciate and apply the full meaning of the spoils system he at least

recognized the claim of the victors to a just participation of the spoils. He established a political standard of appointment, which afterwards naturally developed into the policy of Jackson and Van Buren. His conviction that he was doing the country a service by freeing it from the control of monarchists and monocrats may excuse him from the charge of being influenced to any pronounced degree by the desire to reward political followers by patronage; but, nevertheless, there can be no doubt that a large faction of his party boldly demanded offices and obtained what they wished. His general rules for removals were official misconduct and what President Cleveland afterwards called offensive partisanship and pernicious activity. His rule with regard to collectors and other officials who had the handling of money was, "remove no collector till called on for acct, that as many may be remd as defaulters as are such." In his diary under date of March 8, 1801, we find the following entry, which indicates that Jefferson was human: "Maine Parker Marshall to be removed by & by a very violent & influential & industrious fed and put in not very fairly. Jersey turn out Tory collector an atrocious aptment."

After a few days in Washington as President, which were spent as before at Conrad's boarding-house, he started on horseback for Monticello, and the government ran itself nearly two months while he arranged his private affairs for a long absence, packed his books, and got Edward Bacon, his overseer, started with the spring ploughing. When he returned he brought several loads of goods of various kinds from Monticello to Washington, and kept a wagon going regularly between the two places.

About May 15, 1801, the serious business of the Presidency began, and from that date he kept a record of proceedings in Cabinet meetings, showing that nearly everything of importance was decided by a vote as if the President's advisers were a deliberative body. Jefferson was the first President to adopt that plan. He reduced the patronage of the President by abolishing several unnecessary offices that had been created for the benefit of John Adams's friends and supporters; he cut down the army and the navy by relieving from active service a large number of admirals, generals, and other supernumerary officers; he reduced the salary list in the executive departments, and abolished every sinecure he could discover, several of them being held by men who had gained distinction in the Revolution and were too old or infirm to earn a living. Jefferson took the ground that civil pensions were not authorized by the Constitution, and that his official duty required him to expend no government money without an adequate return. He endeavored to simplify the administration of the different departments, and abolished a great deal of red tape which had been developed from the military methods of Washington and his staff.

Then, with a good deal of gusto, we imagine, he abolished the formalities that had been introduced by General Washington and imitated by Adams; opening the door of the executive office to all comers, and receiving his callers in the order of their arrival instead of their rank, as had formerly been the case. He revoked the rule which set apart certain hours and days for social and business calls, and announced that the President would see any citizen who had business with the government at any time it was convenient for him to call.

He discontinued the practice of assigning frig-

ates for the conveyance of ministers plenipotentiary across the ocean; he declined to write letters of condolence to the widows and families of deceased officers.

He objected to the celebration of birthdays, saying: "I have declined to let my birthday be known and have engaged my family not to communicate it. The only birthday that I recognize is that of my country's liberties." He disapproved the great ball that was given in Philadelphia in honor of Washington's birthday. "This is at least very indelicate," he said, "and probably excites uneasy sensations in some. I see in it, however, that the birthdays which have been kept have been not those of the Presidents but of the Generals." Jefferson thought that he discovered in the birthday celebration of certain persons a germ of aristocratic distinction which it was his duty to crush.

Jefferson was also opposed to official mourning, and when it was proposed in honor of Commodore Barry, a distinguished naval officer, he wrote Dr. Benjamin Rush as follows: "The first step into such an undertaking ought to be well weighed. On the death of Dr. Franklin the king and convention of France went into mourning. So did the House of Representatives of the United States. The Senate refused. I proposed to General Washington that the executive department should wear mourning. He declined it, because he said he should not know where to draw the line, if he once began the ceremony. Mr. Adams was then vice President, and I thought General Washington had his eye on him, who he certainly did not love. I told him the world had grown so broad that a line between himself and Dr. Franklin on the one side, and the residue of mankind on the other, that we might wear mourning for them, and the ques-

tion still remained new and undecided as to all others. He thought it best however, to avoid it. On these considerations alone, however well affected to the merit of Commodore Barry, I think it prudent not to engage myself in a practice which may become embarrassing."

The weekly levee introduced by Washington and continued by Adams was abolished. The society people of Washington, who had appreciated and enjoyed the social functions introduced by President Adams at the Executive Mansion, which were almost the only formal gatherings at that date, protested against the innovation, and by common consent gathered at the White House at the usual hour on Tuesday, the day on which President Adams had held his levee, attired in their gayest raiments. Jefferson, having in some way received an intimation of the conspiracy, went off for a longer horseback ride than usual. On his return he feigned surprise at finding the parlors of the President's house filled with guests, but assumed that they were there by accident. He entered the group, wearing his riding costume, splashed with mud and wet with perspiration, greeted them cordially, apologized for his appearance, excused himself, and then passed upstairs to his office, leaving them to laugh over the manner in which they had been outwitted; and that was the last of the levees.

His next radical change was in the manner of addressing Congress. During the two previous administrations the practice of the British Parliament had been followed, both houses assembling in the Senate Chamber to hear a speech from the President at the opening of the session. There was a procession to and from the Capitol, the President riding in a coach drawn by six horses

and escorted by committees representing the two houses and the members of the Cabinet, who rode in coaches drawn by four horses. After hearing his speech the two houses of Congress separated and each appointed a committee to prepare an address in reply. These addresses furnished a pretext for political eulogies and provoked long political debates, the minority striving to prevent the majority from enjoying a political advantage, while the latter made use of the occasion to frame a useful campaign document. After the address had been adopted both houses of Congress proceeded in a procession to the President's mansion, where they stood around him in a solemn semicircle while one of their number read to him what he had already seen many times in the newspapers, together with the debate upon it. It was customary for him to make a short formal acknowledgment, congratulate the members of Congress upon their good health and the prosperity of the country, and shake hands with them individually before they returned to the Capitol and commenced the business of the session. These formalities usually wasted two or three weeks of time and excited political passions. That was one of Jefferson's objections. Another was that they were in imitation of kingly customs, although his physical inability to deliver a speech may have been a third. Hence, without revealing his purpose in advance, when Congress gathered on the morning of December 8, 1801, Meriwether Lewis, private secretary to the President, appeared at the door of the Senate and handed to the sergeant-at-arms a note addressed to the Vice-President of the United States, which read as follows:

"SIR: The circumstances under which we find ourselves at this place rendering inconvenient the mode heretofore

practiced of making by personal address the first communications between the Legislative and Executive branches, I have adopted that by message, as used on all subsequent occasions through the session. In doing this, I have had principal regard to the convenience of the legislature, to the economy of their time, to their relief from the embarrassment of immediate answers on subjects not yet fully before them, and the benefits thence resulting to public affairs. Trusting that a procedure founded on these motives will meet their approbation, I beg leave, through you, sir, to communicate the enclosed copy with the documents accompanying it, to the honorable, the Senate, and pray you to accept for yourself and them, the homage of my high regard and consideration."

A similar message was sent to the House of Representatives, and although it created a sensation at the time, Congress soon recognized it as a practical reform, and it has ever since been followed. The next year Congress appointed a committee to wait upon the President and inform him that they were assembled and ready to receive any communications that he might desire to make.

Jefferson's administrative ability was not fairly tested during his term as President. The United States at the beginning of the century was a small, feeble, and primitive community. The conditions made it easy for the President to exercise the duties of the office, and measured by the present standard, his responsibilities were comparatively light. The executive departments at the capital employed the services of only about one hundred persons, while there are now 19,446 names upon the pay-rolls of the General Government in the District of Columbia alone, not including the army and navy, and an expenditure of $19,628,505 for salaries for the year. When Jefferson was Secretary of State he had the assistance of a secretary, or amanuensis, a chief clerk, and a translator of foreign languages. At present the Secretary of State has three assistants and ninety-five clerks and translators, which

is too small a force to do the business promptly and properly. President Jefferson conducted the official business of the White House with the aid of Meriwether Lewis. President McKinley requires the services of twenty-seven clerks, stenographers, and typewriters.

Jefferson exercised authority over about 1400 subordinates in the employ of the government, not including the army and navy. President McKinley is responsible for the good behavior of more than 250,000 employés. In 1800 there were 900 post-offices in the country, whose annual receipts were $320,000, and 2,900,000 letters were carried in the mails. In 1900 there were 76,688 post-offices, whose receipts were $102,354,579, and 3,309,754,607 letters and 587,815,250 postal cards were carried in the mails.

In 1800 the revenues of the government were $10,808,745, or $2.04 per capita of the population, and the expenditures were $7,411,370, or $1.40 per capita. In 1900 the expenditures were $487,713,792, or $6.39 per capita, and the revenues were $567,240,852, or $7.43 per capita.

The imports of foreign merchandise in 1800 were $91,252,768; in 1900 they were $935,550,635; the exports of domestic merchandise in 1800 were $70,971,780, and in 1900 they were $1,598,407,141.

In 1800 the area of the United States was 909,050 square miles. In 1900 it is 3,846,595 square miles.

The wealth of the country at the beginning of the century was $1,800,000,000; in 1890, by the returns of the eleventh census, it was $63,037,091,197, and according to the estimates of the officials of the twelfth census it had increased to $94,000,000,000 in 1900.

In 1800 the value of the products of the industry of the people was nominal; no attempt was made to ascertain the facts. In 1850, at the middle of the century, it was reported to be $1,029,106,798. At the end of the century the total was $18,222,576,939.

The cash in the Treasury when Jefferson was inaugurated was $114,000; on the first of January, 1901, it was $475,769,122.

In 1800 the population of the country was 5,308,483, a little more than that of the State of Illinois in 1900. New York State had a population of 589,000, which has since increased to 7,268,009, or thirty per cent. more than the total population of the thirteen colonies at the beginning of the century. The centre of population was at Baltimore; the boundary of civilization was the Allegheny Mountains. It required three days to go from New York to Boston, which is now a journey of five hours, two days from New York to Philadelphia, which is now one of two hours, and three weeks from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, which is now one of eight hours.

Jefferson intended that the new nation should be a democracy, and he would rather have let the whole world perish than that this purpose should fail. Nevertheless he was the most absolute monarch that ever sat in the Presidential chair. Although he introduced the practice of discussing all matters in his Cabinet and deciding questions of importance by vote, his powerful individuality and persuasive reasoning controlling his advisers in his official family and in Congress. He exercised an influence in both houses of the national legislature and with the people that has never been equalled by any of his successors. He formed a powerful party, he directed its action, and he se-

lected its principles, but he never assumed the attitude of a "boss." He remained in the background, sheltered by the dignity of his office. He worked with singular silence and mystery, communicated his wishes to those who were loyal to him, and selected those who were able to carry them out with the greatest sagacity. There has never been a more subtle or skilful strategist in American politics; there has never been a more accurate observer of public sentiment nor a better judge of human nature. Gallatin, his Secretary of the Treasury for eight years and his intimate friend for life, said that Jefferson's greatest weakness was his want of a sense of humor, but at the same time it protected him from much mortification, because it made him insensible to ridicule.

He differed from Washington in that he was the author of nearly all the important state papers issued during his administration. John W. Foster in his "Century of American Diplomacy" says: "No other of our public men has so fully impressed his personality upon the country. No one has had so great an influence in moulding the political sentiments of his countrymen. He had serious defects of character, but through these shine resplendent his devotion to democratic principles and an unfaltering faith in the people."

It is a curious fact that the founder of the party whose creed is that all authority belongs to the people alone was the greatest political dictator ever known in the United States, but it is equally true that the Democratic party has never been successful except under the direction and leadership of a dictator.

With Madison at the head of the Department of State and Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury, President Jefferson's first term was a conspicuous

success in the management of both foreign relations and domestic affairs. He succeeded in quieting the prejudices of the Federalists and winning the confidence of the commercial interests of the country, while the annexation of Louisiana Territory was the crowning triumph. Even Massachusetts, the nursery of Federalism, gave him its electoral vote at the second election, when the result was a personal rather than a political victory. Jefferson was then the idol of the nation; he had vindicated himself from the suspicions of the Federalists and from the slanders of the Federalist newspapers. Yet he said he was anxious to retire from public life at the end of his fourth year. He was weary of the cares of office and the persecutions of the politicians. He wrote Adams, "He is the happiest man of whom the world says the least, good or bad." His philosophy was sorely tried by his perplexities in dispensing patronage, as has been the experience of every President. "Every office becoming vacant," he said, "every appointment made, means one ingrate and a hundred enemies." General Grant's estimate was more moderate: he considered that he made thirteen enemies by every appointment.

Among the fundamental principles of the Jeffersonian school of politics were rotation in office and a single term of the Presidency. Jefferson was very much dissatisfied because they were omitted from the Constitution, and criticised General Washington for accepting a reëlection. But as his first term was approaching an end we find him scheming for a renomination and justifying it on the ground that his work was incomplete. It was necessary for him to remain in office until the authority of the people was recognized and obeyed. To the public he said: "I sincerely regret that the

unbounded calumnies of the Federal party have obliged me to throw myself on the verdict of my country for trial. My great desire having been to retire at the end of my present term to a life of tranquillity, and it was my decided purpose when I entered the office." To John Rutledge he wrote: "Without concert or expectation on my part, my name was again brought forward. On my salvation I declare it. I have no ambition to govern men, no passion which would lead me to ride in a storm." At the same time he was informing his political managers that he would not permit himself to be driven out of politics by the criticism of his official conduct.

Jefferson was always protesting against being pressed into public service; he was always expressing a desire to escape honors and evade responsibilities, yet he never declined a nomination, accepting every office that was tendered him and every honor that came in his way. He continually wrote his daughters and his friends of his desire to return to the tranquillity of his farm and home, and at the same time we know by abundant evidence that he was as eager to retain his power and as anxious to continue his leadership as any politician that ever lived. Perhaps his vehement protestations to John Rutledge and others were intended to deceive his own conscience as well as his friends, for when the caucus of Republicans, or Democrats, as they were afterwards called, absolutely under his influence, and with his consent, nominated him for a second term he disregarded his own teachings and was punished by another term of office which brought him nothing but care, humiliation, and sorrow.

When the election took place his influence and popularity were demonstrated beyond his expecta-

tion. It was an overwhelming victory, the greatest ever enjoyed by any political party in the United States. Jefferson received one hundred and sixty-two out of one hundred and seventy-six votes in the electoral college, while he had received but seventy-three out of one hundred and thirty-eight at the previous election. He was easily elated, and the flattery of the popular vote excited his vanity more than anything that could have occurred. He wrote a friend at this time that under his conciliatory influence the two political parties "had almost melted into one." He found himself not only the recognized leader of four-fifths of the people, but possessing the most complete and absolute authority ever exercised by a President of the United States. In the Louisiana Territory he ruled with despotic power. His second inaugural address was a shout of triumph. After his death there was found among his manuscripts a memorandum to the effect that in his first message he had declared the principles which were to guide him in his administration of the government, and in the second inaugural he proclaimed their success and the results they had accomplished. He boasted that he had made democracy respectable in the eyes of the world.

But he soon began to have trouble in Congress and in the Democratic party. Because of excessive numbers it divided. The same phenomenon has occurred since. Wise politicians fear too large a majority in any cause. An excess of leaders always provokes dissension. In 1805 for that reason the Democrats began to split into factions. The old Republicans of 1798 and 1800, the original founders and leaders of the party, began to criticise and resent the activity and aggressiveness of recent recruits, and showed a determination to

fight for the control of the organization they had founded. An imprudent act on the part of Gideon Granger, Postmaster-General, in accepting a fee to promote the passage of a land bill then pending in Congress, involved the administration in these factional fights and afforded an opportunity for Jefferson's enemies to drag him into the quarrel. The feeling was so intense that the two sons-in-law of the President, Randolph and Eppes, were impelled to vote against his wishes. A shadow of corruption was thrown over the entire administration. Then foreign affairs assumed a threatening look. When he tried to buy Florida he found himself involved in complications with Spain, France, and England. Then he became possessed of a mania to pay the public debt before the close of his administration. This idea took control of his mind and appeared to monopolize it. Every line of policy, every official act, seemed to be governed by its possible effect upon the public treasury, and in order to avoid unnecessary expenditures for defence and armament Jefferson reversed the policy he had pursued from the beginning of his public career, abandoned his bold and independent attitude towards the European powers, and permitted Spain to insult and humiliate the United States. If he had defied Spain, war might have been declared, but he would have been supported by the unanimous sentiment of the country and assumed the leadership of a great popular movement that would have outlasted the century; but he took the ground that the country could better suffer a loss of dignity than waste its money on a war, and from that time, as the French minister wrote his government, Jefferson's administration "allowed itself to be outraged every day and accepted all the humiliation offered."

"If we go to war now," Jefferson said, "I fear we may renounce forever the hope of seeing an end of our national debt. If we can keep at peace eight years longer, our income, liberated from debt will be adequate to any war." That was the key to his policy. He declared that under no circumstances would he consent to war; he would close the ports of his country, abandon her commerce, shut up the people like the Chinese, and let the world outside kill each other as much as they liked. At the same time, fearing that his benevolent purpose would be ridiculed by foreign nations and bring him into contempt with his own people, he decided to adopt two policies,—one public, to satisfy the belligerent spirit that had been aroused in the country and to impress foreign nations, and the other secret, by which he expected to reconcile his differences with France and Spain and buy peace. He wrote two messages to Congress and framed the two replies which he wished Congress to return to him,—one public and one secret. The public resolution "pledged the lives and fortunes of the people to maintain the dignity of the country against the aggressions of foreign nations" and appropriated all the money in the Treasury for that purpose. The secret resolution authorized him to purchase peace at any price and provided the money.

These resolutions and messages were referred to a committee of which John Randolph, his bitterest enemy, was chairman. Instead of making the situation clear, Jefferson confused it the more and convicted himself of duplicity. The resolutions he prepared were suppressed, the committee refused to recommend an appropriation for the purchase of Florida, and reported resolutions which were an insult to Spain and intended to provoke

war. The frightened President went to the Capitol in person, rallied his forces, defeated the opposition under Randolph, and secured authority and an appropriation for the purchase of all the Spanish territory north of the Rio Grande. It was a costly victory and the end of his influence. He saw his most devoted followers waver in their allegiance: he was compelled to temporize with his enemies and to endure private taunts and public humiliation. He felt keenly the disrespect with which he was treated by members of Congress who only a few months before were eager for his approval. He began to write melancholy complaints that his friends were repaying his kindness with ingratitude, that those whom he had elevated were trying to tear the laurels from his brow, and that an ungrateful country no longer appreciated his services.

He tried to divert the mind of the country from war by recommending Congress to abolish the slave-trade, to build a national system of roads and canals, to found a national university, to fortify the coast and organize a national militia, and introduced various other propositions; but they made no impression. The insults of England, France, and Spain were too keenly felt by the public to accept any diversion, and the political divisions in Congress were too wide to heal.

As Jefferson's troubles increased he became less and less competent to meet them. There was an extraordinary change in his disposition and methods. He lost his physical, mental, and moral vigor. His self-reliance, which had been one of his most striking characteristics, disappeared. He became indifferent to public sentiment and ignored attacks which would have aroused his impulsive nature to instant retaliation had they occurred dur-

ing the first term of his Presidency. Towards the end of his term he even declined to exercise his official authority, and did what no other President ever thought of doing or even conceived that he had a right to do, threw the burden and responsibility of the government upon his successor, saying: "I have thought it right to take no part in proposing measures, the execution of which will devolve upon my successor. Our situation is truly difficult. We have been pressed by the belligerents to the very wall, and all further retreat is impracticable." It was the truth. As Henry Adams says in his life of Gallatin, "There seems to have been no form of insult which Mr. Jefferson and his administration did not swallow, and between the exquisitely exasperating satire of Mr. Canning (the British Premier) and the peremptory brutality of Bonaparte he was almost extinguished."

Fortunately Madison, the President-elect, was the head of the Cabinet, and he was "very slow in taking ground, but very firm when the storm arises." He took control of affairs, with the advice and aid of Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, and during the next few months, until his own inauguration, directed the policy of the government in Jefferson's name. On two subjects, however, Jefferson was firm. On all others he was weak. He was determined to avoid war and debt. He would submit to any humiliation, he would adopt any other measures, but he would not fight or borrow money. The complaints made of him were similar to that which caused him so much distress while he was Governor of Virginia. He refused to provide for the defence of the country, and would not permit the expenditure of money for munitions of war, although American seamen were being impressed into the British service and Amer-

ican vessels were being fired upon by British privateers. He became a monomaniac on the subject of the payment of the public debt.

When Congress met for its last term during his Presidency Mr. Jefferson submitted a milk-and-water message in which he proposed no policy and avoided the expression of an opinion. Taken apart from its surroundings and read without the signature no one would have attributed the authorship to him. This threw a divided and distracted Congress into even greater disorder, and, fearing that the Federalists might seize control, Madison and Gallatin made a formal appeal to the President, begging him to adopt "some precise and distinct course." They were themselves undetermined as to the best policy to pursue, but were willing to support Jefferson in any measure "so that we may point out a decisive course either way to our friends." But Jefferson declined to take the responsibility and described himself as "an unmeddleing listener." Realizing that something must be done to reunite the party in Congress, to retain the respect of foreign nations, and to secure support for the incoming administration, they asked Congress in his name for further authority to enforce the "embargo," and a law, famous in history as the "Enforcement Act," was rushed through in secret session. It was denounced as unjust, oppressive, unconstitutional, and tyrannical, and one year before Jefferson would not have tolerated such an arbitrary measure for a moment; but Madison and Gallatin believed it necessary for the salvation of the administration and the safety of the country. To avoid friction with England and France, American shipowners were required to tie up their vessels. Jefferson offered the ingenious justification that it was better for our ships to remain in port,

where they were safe, rather than expose themselves to the dangers of the sea.

But the people would not submit. Actuated by a desire to earn an honest living, and inspired by a patriotism and courage which the President did not show, the shipmasters of New England were willing to defy the British privateers and take their chances. They demanded a right to do so, and Congress repealed the Enforcement Act after three months of stormy debate, in which a few of Jefferson's friends stood loyally by him in Congress and defended his administration with ingenuity, eloquence, and a sacrifice of reputation. The two political parties had completely changed places. The Democrats in defending the administration were compelled to justify a policy of centralization which they had always opposed, while the Federalists stood on the doctrine of State rights and demanded liberty of action for shipowners.

Jefferson seemed to be in a daze. The policy pursued during the last few months of his Presidency was a contradiction of all his arguments, theories, and doctrines, and he was as eager to leave the White House as he had been to enter it eight years before. He surveyed the wreck of his administration with a sorrow that did not leave him to the end of his days. His disappointment and humiliation were keen, his influence in Congress was forfeited, yet his personal popularity was not seriously affected. The great majority of the nation believed in him and considered him the greatest, the wisest, and the most virtuous of statesmen. But John Randolph of Roanoke said, "Never has there been an administration which went out of office and left the nation in a state so deplorable and calamitous."

VI

THE EXPANSIONIST OF 1803

In no part of his public experience has Jefferson's skill as a politician or his broad statesmanship been illustrated in such a striking manner as in connection with the treaty for the annexation of the Louisiana Territory to the United States. It was the greatest triumph of his career, and it seems inexplicable that he did not include it in his epitaph, which mentions but three of his achievements. It was without question the greatest benefit he conferred upon his country, and contributed more to his honor than any other incident or public act with which he was connected. At the same time it was the first instance in which a President of the United States ever used his personal and political influence to crowd through Congress, under a gag law, an act which he himself declared unconstitutional; and for his justification Jefferson believed confidently that the wisdom of his course would be recognized and approved by all generations—as it has been.

He did not originate the project, nor was he the author of the scheme. So far back as the Revolution the necessity of owning a trading-post at the mouth of the Mississippi became apparent, and until 1800, when the Territory was retroceded to France by Spain, our ministers to that country were vainly endeavoring to secure such an arrangement. As soon as Jefferson learned that Spain had transferred the title, Livingston was in-

structed to approach the French government with an offer to purchase New Orleans and the Floridas. He made slow work of it, and Jefferson's anxiety became so great that he sent Monroe to Paris to assist in the negotiations.

Fortunately for the United States, Napoleon was in most embarrassing complications. The French possessions at the mouth of the Mississippi were a source of weakness instead of strength the moment he went to war with England, and, furthermore, he was desperately in need of money. Having no confidence in the personal honesty of Talleyrand, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Napoleon entrusted the negotiations to M. Marbois, his Minister of Finance, who had an American wife, had lived several years in the United States, and was on friendly terms with Livingston and Monroe. The envoys had been instructed to purchase only the Island of New Orleans or some other location near the mouth of the Mississippi equally favorable, but Marbois offered them the entire French possessions in America for one hundred million francs, and, as they learned afterwards, it was just twice the amount fixed by Napoleon himself. After several days of negotiation the contract was closed, and it was agreed that the United States should pay sixty million francs for the Territory and assume all the claims of American citizens against France growing out of the depredations of her privateers, which then amounted to about twenty millions of francs, and which, by the way, were not settled for nearly a hundred years afterwards.

It was wise for Napoleon to sell the property; it was wiser for the United States to buy it; and while Jefferson took great pride in the achievement, he was exceedingly anxious to avoid a dis-

cussion of the legal points involved, because he believed the entire proceeding to be unconstitutional. Here the spirit of the politician dominated the conscience of the lawyer, and under his direction the ratification of the treaty by Congress was accomplished with marvellous skill and speed. Only one day was allowed for debate in either house, and within four days after Congress assembled the emergency was passed and the ratifications exchanged and proclaimed to the public. Both houses approved the project by large majorities. Although Hamilton, Morris, and other of the Federalist leaders favored the annexation of the Territory and approved the ratification of the treaty, the political animosities of the time and their antagonism towards Jefferson's administration would not permit them to allow it to pass without making some pertinent as well as some impertinent suggestions. During the limited hour for debate they raised several interesting points, including, first, whether it was constitutional to acquire territory, and, second, what should be done with it when acquired?

Jefferson groped around in all directions seeking consolation for his conscience, and arguments by which he might sustain himself before the people and justify his unconstitutional proceedings. It was a solemn subject of conference in the Cabinet, and many anxious hours were spent in discussing various devices to relieve the dilemma. Jefferson himself proposed most of them, for he had an ingenious mind, and was determined to escape the charge of inconsistency with as little damage as possible.

In a letter to Senator Breckenridge, August 12, 1803, he said: "This treaty must of course be laid before both houses, because both have im-

portant functions to exercise respecting it. They, I presume, will see their duty to their country in ratifying and paying for it, so as to secure a good which would otherwise probably be never again in their power. But I suppose they must then appeal to the nation for an additional article to the Constitution approving and confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorized. The Constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, and still less for incorporating foreign nations into our own. The Executive in seizing the fugitive occurrence (Louisiana purchase) which so much advances the good of their country, have done an act beyond the Constitution. But we shall not be disavowed by the nation, and their acts of indemnity will confirm and not weaken the Constitution, by more strongly marking out its lines."

On August 18 we find Jefferson writing to Breckenridge again, and this time showing a modification of the views expressed in his letter of the previous week. He says: "I wrote you on the 12th instant on the subject of Louisiana and the constitutional provision which might be necessary for it. A letter received yesterday shows that nothing must be said on that subject which may give a pretext for retraction, but that we should do *sub silentio* what shall be found necessary."

Wilson Cary Nicholas, a warm personal and political friend of Jefferson, conferred with him upon the constitutional question, and early in September wrote Jefferson a letter in which he declared that upon an examination of the Constitution he "found the power as broad as it could well be made, except that new states can not be formed out of old ones without the consent of the states to be dismembered."

On September 7, 1803, Jefferson, in reply, wrote to Nicholas: "I am aware of the force of the observations you make on the power given by the Constitution to Congress to admit new States into the Union without restraining the subject to the territory then constituting the United States. But when I consider that the limits of the United States are precisely fixed by the treaty of 1783, that the Constitution expressly declares itself to be made for the United States, I can not help believing that the intention was to permit Congress to admit into the Union new States which should be formed out of the territory for which and under whose authority alone they were then acting. I do not believe it was meant that they might receive England, Ireland, Holland, etc., into it, which would be the case under your construction. When an instrument admits two constructions, the one safe, the other dangerous, the one precise, the other indefinite, I prefer that which is safe and precise. I had rather ask an enlargement of power from the nation where it is found necessary than to assume it by a construction which would make our powers boundless."

He desired to repair the mutilation he had made in "the bulwark of our liberties," and proposed two retroactive amendments authorizing him to do what he had already done, or, as he put it, "appeal to the nation for an additional article to the Constitution, approving and confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorized. The Constitution," he said, "has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union," but he was confident that the people would justify it because "it so much advances the good of the country." He actually prepared such an amend-

ment, reading: "Louisiana, as ceded by France to the United States, is hereby made a part of the United States," but fortunately yielded to the advice of friends who convinced him of the absurdity of the proposition. If the Constitution could be mended every time anyone punched a hole in it, they suggested that such liberties would be frequently taken.

In the midst of his anxiety came a despatch from Paris which effectually dissipated all of Jefferson's conscientious scruples. Livingston described the tremendous opposition which had developed in France to the cession of the Territory, and was so alarmed lest Napoleon might withdraw from the bargain that Jefferson was determined to ratify the treaty at once, Constitution or no Constitution, and to do it before anybody could interpose objections. To Madison, then Secretary of State, he wrote, "The less we say about the constitutional difficulties respecting Louisiana, the better, and what is necessary for surmounting them must be done Sub Silentio."

By the time Congress had assembled Jefferson's doubt as to the constitutional power of admitting the new Territory into the Union seems to have vanished. He does not appear to have believed, however, that the Territory had become incorporated into the Union or would become so incorporated by virtue of the mere treaty of cession. In his message to Congress, transmitted on October 17, he referred to that body the subject of government of the Territory, as well as its incorporation into the Union, saying, "With the wisdom of Congress it will rest to take those ulterior measures which may be necessary for the immediate occupation and temporary government of the country; for its incorporation into the Union."

Everything went through as he would wish it. His triumph was complete. The French flag was hauled down at New Orleans and the American flag was raised to the top of the same staff, while a battery fired two salutes in honor of the friendly nations.

Jefferson was a far-sighted man, and comprehensive in his ideas of the future wealth and power of his country. On the future greatness of the United States he said: "I do believe we will continue to grow, to multiply and prosper until we exhibit an association, powerful, wise and happy, beyond what has yet been seen by men." "Not in our day, but at no distant one, we may shake a rod over the heads of all (the European nations), which may make the stoutest of them tremble, but I hope our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us, that the less we use our power the greater will it be." His pride in his country appears in a letter to an English lady, Mrs. Cosway, in which he says: "There is not a country on earth where there is greater tranquillity; where the laws are milder, or better obeyed; where everyone is more attentive to his own business or meddles less with that of others; where strangers are better received, more hospitably treated and with more sacred respect."

No one measured more accurately than he the importance of the annexation of Louisiana to the infant nation. No one saw so far into the future, and he immediately set about his preparations for an expedition to explore the great country he had purchased. In a confidential message to Congress Jefferson proposed the Lewis and Clarke expedition to the western ocean, basing it upon the interests of commerce, and asking an appropriation of two thousand five hundred dollars "for the purpose

of extending the external commerce of the United States." Congress appropriated five thousand dollars. Captain Meriwether Lewis, who was selected to command, was his private secretary and the son of a neighbor of Jefferson's. In addition to the money furnished, Jefferson wrote Lewis the following authority to draw for funds: "In the journey you are about to undertake, should you reach the Pacific Ocean and be without money, your resource can only be the credit of the United States, for which purpose I hereby authorize you to draw on the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of War and of the Navy of the United States, according as you may find your drafts will be most negotiable."

The attack of Jefferson upon his own conscience in connection with the annexation of Louisiana was shortly followed by another exhibition of inconsistency that is perhaps the most remarkable in his entire career. Evidently without reflecting upon its apparent violation of his democratic principles, he prepared a plan for the government of the new Territory without the consent of the governed. He proposed to place it under a centralized authority as complete and offensive as any he had ever condemned. He made no provision for the protection of the lives and liberties of the people, he allowed them no voice in the control of their own affairs, not even the ordinary right of suffrage, but endowed the President with all the monarchial authority exercised by the old Spanish viceroys,—an odd position for a democrat who had preached so eloquently and so often that all authority and power rested with the people. But he justified himself on the theory that he was seeking the good of the people and executing their will.

Thomas H. Benton said of Jefferson's plan for

a government of Louisiana: "It was a startling bill continuing the existing methods of the Spanish government; putting the President in the place of the King of Spain; putting all the territorial officers in the place of the king's officers and placing the appointments of all those officers in the President alone without reference to the Senate. Nothing could be more incompatible with our constitution than such a government,—a mere emanation of Spanish despotism in which all power civil and military, legislative, executive and judicial was in the intendente general representing the king, and which the people, far from possessing political rights, were punishable arbitrarily for presuming to meddle with political subjects."

To those who criticised, the Republicans replied with the same arguments as were used in 1900, that the Constitution was made for the States and not for the Territories, and that Congress could do anything it pleased with the Territories.

A portion of his plan was adopted by Congress, but it proved so offensive that it was soon repealed for one more in harmony with a republican form of government. President Jefferson made no reference to the constitutional difficulties of the situation in any of his messages to Congress, but continued to refer to the subject in his private correspondence, and defended his course with his remarkable ability. A President of narrower views might have changed the entire destiny of the American republic, and it is fortunate that so able and courageous a man as Jefferson was in the executive chair, willing to subordinate his personal opinions to the will and good of the nation.

Happily not all of Jefferson's recommendations concerning the new possession were carried out, for he invented a list of absurd classical names

from Greek derivation for the States to be carved out of the Louisiana Territory, and we should have upon the map of the United States, Sylvania, Michigania, Chersonesus, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Illinoia, Saratoga, Polypotamia, Pelispia, instead of the present names of the States west and northwest of Virginia.

On reviewing Jefferson's record it will be seen that he was a natural expansionist. In a letter to Monroe in 1801 he said, "However our present interests may restrain us within our own limits, it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication will expand itself beyond those limits, and cover the whole northern if not the southern continent." He was one of the earliest advocates of the annexation of Florida and favored the annexation of Cuba. In 1791, in a letter to Washington, he refers to a proclamation of Quesada, the Spanish governor, inviting foreign settlers to Florida, as follows: "This is meant for our people. I wish a hundred thousand of our inhabitants would accept the invitation. It will be the means of delivering to us secretly what may otherwise cost us a war. In the meantime," he says, with the cunning of a Jesuit, "we may complain of this seduction of our inhabitants just enough to make them believe we think it very wise policy for them and confirm them in it."

The acquisition of Louisiana made him eager to secure Florida, and in his "Anas" he states that in October, 1803, it was agreed at a Cabinet meeting that Monroe, then minister at Paris, should be instructed to purchase that territory of Spain. If that was impossible, he proposed to seize it by force on the pretext that England would do so if the United States did not. From his re-

tirement at Monticello he urged Congress to authorize the President to take possession of Florida in January, 1811, "with a declaration, first, that it is a reprisal for indemnities Spain has acknowledged to be due us; second, to keep it from falling into hands in which it would essentially endanger our safety; third, that in our hands it will still be held as a subject of negotiation." He writes his son-in-law, J. W. Eppes, who was a member of Congress from Virginia, "The leading republican members should come to an understanding, close the doors, and determine not to separate until the vote is carried, and all the secrecy we can enjoin should be aimed at until the measure is executed."

Jefferson being, as mentioned, an earnest advocate of the annexation of Cuba, wrote to President Monroe in 1823: "I candidly confess that I have looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of States. The control which with Florida point this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico and the countries and isthmus bordering on it, as well as those whose waters flow into it, would fill up the measure of our political wellbeing."

Jefferson would, however, have objected to the annexation of the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands, for he said: "Cuba can be defended by us without a navy, and this developes the principle which ought to limit our views. Nothing should ever be accepted which would require a navy to defend it."

VII

"JEFFERSONIAN SIMPLICITY"

THE inauguration of Jefferson as President of the United States was attended with as much pomp and ceremony as the physical conditions would permit. Washington was then a village, with a few thousand inhabitants scattered over a large area, which provoked satirists to call it "A City of Magnificent Distances." The story of his going to the Capitol on horseback unattended, and hitching his horse to the "palisades" while he was taking the oath of office as President, is a pleasant fiction, first published by an English tourist named John Davis, who wrote a book concerning his experiences and observations in this country. Mr. Davis spent a winter in Washington, and, like all foreigners, was amazed at the simplicity of our government. Unfortunately for the accuracy of his narrative, at his boarding-house he fell into the society of several wags, who imposed upon his credulity by relating absurd anecdotes of the President and others in authority which he conscientiously noted down and afterwards published as facts. At the inauguration of his successor Jefferson rode from the White House to the Capitol on horseback with an escort of cavalry. At the close of the ceremonies, in order that Madison might have all the glory to himself, he slipped away quietly, remounted his horse, and rode to a boarding-house in Georgetown, accompanied only by his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, who is the authority for the story.

As President, Jefferson had a fine coach drawn by four magnificent horses, for which he paid sixteen hundred dollars, a very large sum in those days, and his coachman and footman were clad in livery similar to that used by the nobility in Paris and London, but the vehicle was seldom used because the streets of Washington were unpaved and muddy and there was little occasion for it. He was proud of his horses, and, being a fearless rider, seldom bestrode any but animals of high mettle and of his own breeding. His favorite was a thoroughbred gelding called "Wild Air." He preferred his saddle to a carriage because it gave him exercise. While President he rode daily for two hours in the neighborhood of Washington and frequently dropped in at the Capitol to confer with his friends in Congress. In those days it was common for members of Congress living in Georgetown to go to the Capitol on horseback, and a shed was erected for the accommodation of their animals. Jefferson usually took advantage of this convenience and tied his horse to a peg before he entered the building. This might be the foundation for the Davis anecdote. On his journeys to Monticello he usually rode horseback, but had a sulky, or what he called a "horse-chair," of his own contrivance, a two-wheeled vehicle with a comfortable seat that was well adapted to the rude roads. Sometimes he went down the Potomac and up the James River to Richmond, where his horses or carriage met him. On one or two occasions he made the journey by way of Fredericksburg in a similar manner.

At the time of his inauguration Jefferson was living at Conrad's boarding-house, which still stands on New Jersey Avenue not far from the Capitol, in the same rooms he had occupied during

his term as Vice-President, and from there he was escorted to the Capitol by a battalion of soldiers on foot, while a salute of honor was fired by a battery from Alexandria. He walked between Samuel Dexter, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Treasury, and Benjamin Stoddard, of Maryland, Secretary of the Navy, the only members of President Adams's Cabinet who had the decency to remain in Washington. The retiring President, in childish pique, and to the humiliation of his friends, before daylight on inauguration day fled like a fugitive by carriage to Baltimore to avoid the disagreeable duty of assisting at the installation of the man who had defeated him; and after his encounter with Levi Lincoln over the midnight judges, John Marshall had laid down the portfolio of Secretary of State, and had taken the oath of office as Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court.

The north wing of the Capitol was nearly completed at this time, and Jefferson, surrounded by his political friends, was received upon the portico by Colonel Burr, who had arrived at Washington a day or two previous and had been sworn in as Vice-President that morning. Jefferson considered the appointment of John Marshall to be Chief-Justice so near the expiration of the term of President Adams as not only an impropriety but a personal affront to himself. It was therefore a dramatic situation when Marshall appeared upon the steps of the Capitol wearing for the first time the robes of the Chief-Justice to perform his first official duty, and require Thomas Jefferson to make oath that to the best of his ability he would "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States"—a difference as to the meaning of certain clauses in the Constitution

being the chief cause of the antagonism between the new President and the new Chief-Justice and upon which thereafter they were never able to agree. No one in all the list of public men was so obnoxious to Jefferson, but it was natural for them both, as gentlemen of dignity, to accept the situation.

After taking the oath of office in the presence of the public Jefferson was escorted to the desk of the presiding officer of the Senate in the room now occupied by the Supreme Court, and was seated between Colonel Burr and Judge Marshall. After a short pause, at a signal from the sergeant-at-arms, he arose and delivered his first inaugural address, in what the spectators called "an inaudible voice." As already mentioned, he had a constitutional defect in his throat which precluded him from public speaking. At the close of the ceremony he was escorted back to Conrad's boarding-house, where he received the congratulations of the foreign ministers, the members of Congress, other public officials, and citizens of Washington generally. He did not occupy the White House until May, probably because of its lack of proper furnishings and his absence from the city.

Although Senator Maclay, of Pennsylvania, described his manner as of "a lofty gravity," other witnesses, writing at the time, tell us that the chief figure at the inauguration of the third President was "decidedly unkempt in hair and toilet," and that his clothes were "shabby." He made no preparation for the ceremony so far as his appearance was concerned. His indifference was ostentatious and evidently intended to cause comment. Augustus Foster, secretary of the British legation, describes him as "a tall man with a very red, freckled face and gray neglected hair; his

manners good-natured, frank and rather comely, although he had somewhat of a cynical expression of countenance. He wore a blue coat, a thick gray colored waistcoat, with a red underwaistcoat lapped over it, green velveteen breeches with pearl buttons, yarn stockings and slippers down at the heel, his appearance being much like that of a tall large boned farmer." Jefferson's " democratic simplicity" was affectation; it was part of his political policy to dress badly, although he did not adopt it until he was elected President.

While minister to France he lived in great elegance. His entertainments were bountiful and frequent. He expended his entire salary and drew largely upon his private resources to maintain an appearance befitting his position. No representative of the United States at the French capital has ever done greater credit to himself and to his country by his intelligence, his deportment, and his hospitality. He was regarded as one of the most elegant of gentlemen,—a striking contrast with the Jefferson who afterwards occupied the White House. On occasion he was even a courtier and knew how to pay a compliment as well as any Frenchman, as his correspondence shows.

While a member of Congress and Secretary of State in Philadelphia he kept quite an elegant establishment in the suburbs, near Gray's Ferry, five horses and five men-servants in livery, including a French butler named Petit, brought from Paris. He afterwards imported a French cook, who had charge of the kitchen at the White House while he was President. His dinners at Philadelphia were notable as social events, and there was nothing in his habits or his demeanor to correspond with the negligence he afterwards assumed. His scientific tastes led him into the society of scholars

rather than into the gay world that surrounded the republican court, but he was extremely careful that his daughters should learn dancing, music, and other social accomplishments from the most fashionable preceptors, and showed great solicitude about their manners and deportment. His most congenial companions in Philadelphia were the members of the Philosophical Society, of which he afterwards became President. In 1793, while he was Secretary of State, he moved to Germantown to escape an epidemic of yellow fever, and complained about his limited quarters and the inconveniences to which he was subjected. It was this plague that he called a blessing, because he thought it would discourage people from living in the cities.

Jefferson was very severe in his criticisms of the formalities and elegance of Washington and Adams while they were in the Presidency, and once sarcastically remarked that he desired to escape "the glare of royalty and nobility." General Washington and John Adams had exalted ideas of their office and believed that a certain amount of form and ceremony was necessary to its dignity. Differing from their opinion, Jefferson assumed a neglect of dress and an indifference to the conventional rules of society which he evidently considered necessary to impress the "plain people." He abandoned the courtly deportment for which he had previously been noted, and adopted manners that were offensive to people of refined taste. He had written essays on etiquette, and had admonished his children upon cultivating "the art of politeness." He had introduced into America French cooks, finger-bowls, and other fashions which had met with his approval in Paris, and had observed much formality

of manner. He was served by butlers and footmen in livery, and was fastidious about his table china and plate.

He was continually cautioning his children and grandchildren concerning neatness in dress. To his daughter Martha he wrote: "I omitted in that letter to advise you on the subject of dress, which I know you are a little apt to neglect. I do not wish you to be gaily clothed at this time of life, but that your wear should be fine of its kind. But above all things and at all times let your clothes be neat, whole and properly put on. But be you from the moment you rise till you go to bed, as cleanly and properly dressed as at the hours of dinner or tea. A lady who has been seen a sloven or slut in the morning will never efface the impression she has made, with all the dress and pageantry she may afterwards involve herself in. I hope, therefore, the moment you rise from bed, your first work will be to dress yourself in such style, as that you may be seen by any gentleman without his being able to discover a pin amiss, or any other circumstance of neatness wanting."

Speaking of the good qualities of the French people he once said, "With respect to what are termed polite manners, without sacrificing too much the sincerity of language, I would wish my countrymen to adopt just so much of European politeness as to be ready to make all those little sacrifices of self, which really render European manners amiable, and relieve society from the disagreeable scenes to which rudeness often subjects it." At another time he wrote: "The article of dress is perhaps that in which economy is the least to be recommended. Yet, generally, we become slovenly in proportion as personal decay requires the contrary." Speaking of his appearance at Monticello

THOMAS JEFFERSON

(Painted by Gilbert Stuart)

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his grandson says: "His manners were of that polished school of the Colonial Government so remarkable in its day—under no circumstances violating any of those minor conventional observances which constitute the well bred gentleman, courteous and considerate to all persons. On riding out with him when a lad, we met a negro who bowed to us; he returned his bow; I did not. Turning to me he asked, 'Do you permit a negro to be more of a gentleman than yourself?'"

As to his own appearance, we have, in addition to the several portraits on canvas, painted by Gilbert Stuart, Charles Willson Peale, Sully, Otis, des Noyers, and other conscientious artists, several graphic pen-pictures. Senator Plummer, of Massachusetts, says: "He was a man of scholarly tastes, wide information and an excellent conversationalist of attractive manners, but was dressed in a state of negligence. He was dressed or rather undressed, in an old brown coat, red waistcoat, old courderoy small clothes, much soiled, woolen hose and slippers without heels. I thought him a servant, when General Varnum surprised me by announcing that it was the President."

Senator Maclay, of Pennsylvania, who was an interesting old gossip, said: "He has rather the air of stiffness in his manner. His clothes seem too small for him. He sits in a lounging manner on one hip commonly, and with one of his shoulders elevated much above the other. His face has a sunny aspect. His whole figure has a loose, shackling air. He has a rambling vacant look, and nothing of that firm collected deportment which I expected would dignify the presence of a secretary or a minister. He spoke almost without ceasing; but even his discourse partook of his personal demeanor. It was loose and rambling;

and yet he scattered information wherever he went, and some even brilliant sentiments sparkled from him."

Jefferson's grandson has left us this sketch: "Jefferson had red hair and his eyes were hazel. His teeth were perfect and, at his death in his eighty fourth year, not one of them was defective. His skin was exceedingly sensitive, the heat of the sun causing it to blister, and he was frequently troubled by suffusions of blood, the bursting of veins in his face and neck during unusual muscular exertion. But this never caused him any inconvenience.

"Mr. Jefferson's stature was commanding—six feet two and a half inches in height, well formed, indicating strength, activity, and robust health; his carriage erect; step firm and elastic, which he preserved to his death; his temper, naturally strong, under perfect control; his courage cool and impassive. No one ever knew him exhibit trepidation. His moral courage of the highest order—his will firm and inflexible—it was remarked of him that he never abandoned a plan, a principle or a friend. He retained to the last his fondness for riding on horseback; he rode within three weeks of his death, when, from disease, debility and age, he mounted with difficulty. He rode with confidence, and never permitted a servant to accompany him; he was fond of solitary rides and musing, and said that the presence of a servant annoyed him.

"His habits were regular and systematic. He was a miser of his time, rose always at dawn, wrote and read until breakfast, breakfasted early, and dined from three to four, retired at nine, and to bed from ten to eleven. He said, in his last illness, that the sun had not caught him in bed

Canons of Etiquette, to be observed by the Executive.

1. Foreign ministers arriving at the seat of government pay the first visit to the ministers of the nation, which is returned: and so likewise on subsequent occasions of reassembling after a recess.
2. The families of foreign ministers receive the 1st visit from those of the national ministers, as from all others residents and as all strangers foreign or domestic do from all residents of the place.
3. after they have visited the Chancellor of Strangers, cease.
4. Among the members of the Diplomatic corps, the Executive government on it's own principles of personal & national equality, considers every minister as the representative of his nation, and equal to every other, without distinction of grade.
5. No titles being admitted here, those of foreigners give no precedence.
6. Our ministers to foreign nations are as private citizens while here.
7. At any public ceremony to which the government invites the presence of foreign ministers, no other and their families precedence or privilege will be given them, other than the provision of a convenient seat or station with any other strangers invited, and with the families of the national ministers.
8. At dinners in public or private, and on all other occasions of social intercourse, a perfect equality exists between the persons composing the company, whether foreign or domestic, titled or untitled, in or out of office.
9. To give force to the principle of equality, or pêle mêle, & prevent the growth of precedence out of courtesy, the members of the Executive, at their own houses, will adhere to the ancient usage of their ancestors, gentlemen in masses giving precedence to the ladies in masses.
10. The President of the US. receives visits but does not return them.
11. The family of the President receives the 1st visit and returns it.
12. The Presidents family in public or private
13. The President when in any state, receives the 1st visit of the Governor and returns it.
14. The Governor of a state, in his state receives the 1st visit from foreign ministers the Legislative and Judiciary branches being co ordinate with the Executive, this last does not assume to lay down rules for them, but expressly declares the preceding not to affect them in any case.

JEFFERSON'S CODE OF ETIQUETTE (autograph)

(Original in Department of State, Washington)

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OF
CALIFORNIA

Dr

for fifty years. He always made his own fire. He drank water but once a day, a single glass, when he returned from his ride. He ate heartily, and much vegetable food, preferring French cooking."

It will be conceded that it was not from any lack of knowledge or appreciation of the proprieties that President Jefferson was led to adopt the ostentatious "simplicity" which was one of the most notable features of his first term, and in the absence of a definite explanation it must be assumed that he had an honest purpose. It is evident that he was acting a part; that it was his desire and intention to counteract the tendencies towards form and ceremony that characterised the administrations of Washington and Adams by furnishing as strong a contrast as possible. There is confirmation of this theory in the fact that his "simplicity" programme was not permanent; that it was abandoned after a period, when he was satisfied that no further danger was to be feared from the imitation of what he called "the monarchical institutions" of his predecessors. Among the "citizen" leaders of the French Revolution he had seen something of the system he introduced, and perhaps was convinced that it was a necessary part of a republican form of government. He was determined not to be a personage, but "Citizen Jefferson" and nothing else.

The confusion which followed the adoption of his democratic plan, however, soon taught him the necessity of sufficient rules and regulations to prevent misunderstandings, hence he prepared a code of etiquette. This was not the first time he had undertaken such a task. Soon after the government was organized General Washington called upon Jefferson, with other members of the Cabinet,

to submit his ideas on this subject, and he drafted an interesting memorandum, the original of which is now preserved in the archives of the Department of State. But it was too broad and liberal for a democratic President, hence, after a consultation of his Cabinet, the following code was adopted to govern Washington society:

"1. Residents to pay the first visit to strangers; and among strangers, whether native or foreign, first comers always first upon later comers. To this rule there was allowed one exception: 'Foreign ministers, from the necessity of making themselves known, pay the first visit to the Secretary of State, which is returned.'

"When brought together in society, all are perfectly equal, whether foreign or domestic, titled or untitled, in or out of office."

The President afterwards amplified these rules thus:

"The families of foreign ministers, arriving at the seat of government, receive the first visit from those of the national ministers, as from all other residents. Members of the legislature and of the judiciary, independent of their offices, have a right as strangers to receive the first visit. No title being admitted here, those of foreigners give no precedence. Difference of grade among the diplomatic members gives no precedence.

"At public ceremonies the government invites the presence of foreign ministers and their families, a convenient seat or station will be provided for them, with any other strangers invited, and the families of the national ministers, each taking place as they arrive, and without any precedence.

"To maintain the principle of equality, or of pêle-mêle, and prevent the growth of precedence out of courtesy, the members of the executive will

practice at their own houses, and recommend an adherence to the ancient usages of the country of gentlemen in mass giving precedence to the ladies in mass, in passing from one apartment where they are assembled into another."

Jefferson's critics have always used his treatment of the British minister and other members of the diplomatic corps in Washington as evidence to sustain the charge that he was a demagogue who catered to the prejudices of the ignorant and evil minded; and notwithstanding the explanations that have been offered, it cannot be denied that he was guilty of inexcusable rudeness towards the representative of Great Britain. It was not due to ignorance of social etiquette and the customs of polite society, but was perhaps in a measure inspired by animosity towards England and particularly by a desire to humiliate the representative of the King of England in retaliation for the insolence which that monarch had shown towards him when with Adams he visited the Court of St. James on his way home from France. Jefferson's hatred of England was due also to the belief that the raid of General Arnold in Virginia during the Revolution caused the death of his wife. She was in feeble health when compelled to flee from Richmond and shortly after died in childbirth. He cherished a deep resentment because all of his plantations except Monticello were plundered by Tarleton's troopers; his growing crops were wantonly destroyed; his live-stock and horses were confiscated and the throats of colts too young for use were cruelly cut. Thirty of his slaves were captured and carried away, not to freedom, but to die of small-pox and fever in the British camp. He wrote Monroe, "we have more reason to hate her than any nation on earth." He wrote

William Carmichael, "I considered the English as our natural enemy, and as the only nation on earth that wish us ill from the bottom of their souls, and I am satisfied that were our continent to be swallowed up by the ocean, Great Britain would be in a bonfire from one end to the other." To Lafayette he wrote, "England's selfish principles render her incapable of honorable patronage or disinterested coöperation." To another he said, "Great Britain's governing principles are conquest, colonization, commerce, monopoly." After his retirement from public life he saw things differently, and to Thomas Law he wrote, "No man is more sensible than myself of the just value of the friendship of Great Britain." To John Randolph, "I am sincerely one of those who wish for a reunion with the parent country and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain than on any nation on earth, or than on no nation;" and to James Monroe, "No two countries on earth have so many points of common interest and friendship, and the rulers must be great bunglers if indeed, with such disposition they break them asunder."

If the British minister had been a citizen of the United States his treatment would have been inexcusable from an official of the government however humble, but as the guest of the nation, and the representative of a friendly power, the President of the United States should have been the last to deliberately insult him. Jefferson's respect for the dignity of his office, if not his self-respect, should have prevented such a blunder, for numerous incidents in his career show him to have been a man of fine fibre and a keen sense of personal dignity and politeness. His grandson says that while President he was once returning on horseback from Charlottesville to Monticello with a

party of gentlemen he had invited to dinner, when on reaching a stream where there was no bridge, a stranger asked to be taken up on his horse behind him. After Jefferson had put the stranger down on dry land and ridden on, one of the guests inquired why he had not asked one of the others to carry him over. He replied:

"From their looks I did not like to ask them; but the old gentleman looked as if he would do it, so I asked him."

He was much surprised to hear that he had ridden behind the President of the United States.

According to one of the hackneyed anecdotes of his Presidency, "he was riding along a highway leading to Washington one day, when he overtook a man walking towards the city. As was his habit, Jefferson drew up his horse and touched his hat to the pedestrian. The man returned his salutation, and began a conversation, not knowing who he was. He at once entered upon the subject of politics,—as was the habit of the day,—and began to abuse the President. Jefferson's first impulse was to ride on, but, amused at his own situation, asked the man if he knew the President personally. 'No,' was the reply, 'nor do I wish to.'

"'But do you think it fair,' suggested Jefferson, 'to repeat such stories about a man whom you dare not face?'

"'I will never shrink from meeting Mr. Jefferson should he ever come my way,' replied the stranger, who proved to be a country merchant of high standing from Kentucky.

"'Will you go to his house to-morrow at ten o'clock and be introduced to him, if I promise to meet you there at that hour?' asked Jefferson eagerly.

"'Yes, I will,' said the man after a moment's thought.

"With a half-suppressed smile, and excusing himself from further conversation, the President touched his hat and rode on. Hardly had he disappeared from sight before a suspicion of the truth, which he soon verified, flashed through the stranger's mind. However, at the appointed hour the next day 'Mr. Jefferson's yesterday's companion,' was announced, and entered the President's office. His situation was embarrassing, but with a gentlemanly bearing, though with some confusion, he began, 'I have called to apologize for having said to a stranger——'

"'Hard things of an imaginary being who is no relation of mine,' interrupted Mr. Jefferson as he gave him his hand, while his countenance was radiant with a smile of mingled good-nature and amusement.

"The Kentuckian once more began his apologies, which Jefferson good naturedly laughed off, and, changing the subject, soon captivated his guest by one of his most delightful strains of conversation."

Notwithstanding these beautiful examples of courtesy and good-nature, Jefferson deliberately affronted Minister Merry when he came to the White House accompanied by the Secretary of State to present his credentials. In the Old World such events are attended by a great deal of ceremony. In our country they have always been conducted in a simple but dignified manner. Minister Merry told the story in an official report to his government as follows:

"I called on Mr. Madison, who accompanied me officially to introduce me to the President. We went together to the mansion house, I being in

full official costume, as the etiquette of my place required on such a formal introduction of a minister of Great Britain to the President of the United States. On arriving at the hall of audience we found it empty, at which Mr. Madison seemed surprised, and proceeded to an entry leading to the President's study. I followed him, supposing that the introduction was to take place in an adjoining room. At this moment Mr. Jefferson entered the entry at the other end, and all three of us were packed in this narrow space, from which to make room, I was obliged to back out. In this awkward position my introduction to the president was made by Mr. Madison.

"Mr. Jefferson's appearance soon explained to me that the general circumstances of my reception had not been accidental but studied. I, in my official costume, found myself, at the hour of reception he had himself appointed, introduced to a man as the President of the United States, not merely in an undress, but actually standing in slippers down at the heels and both pantaloons, coat and underclothes indicative of utter slovenliness and indifference to appearances, and in a state of negligence actually studied."

The next complaint made by Minister Merry to his government concerns a dinner at the White House given in honor of the diplomatic corps.

At the organization of the government General Washington showed a high appreciation of the social obligations attending his office. His receptions, dinners, and social visiting were conducted with considerable ceremony, and were therefore condemned by Jefferson as imitations of the follies and vanities of the kings and potentates of the Old World. President Adams continued the same formalities and etiquette, and therefore Jef-

ferson's attempt to abolish all etiquette, when he came to the White House, and to ignore even those forms of courtesy which prevailed among people of good breeding in private life provoked criticism which must have been mortifying to right-minded men. It was not a mere question of taste as to the manner in which he should receive and entertain his guests, as it might have been at Monticello. The President was required by his position to entertain the representatives of foreign governments at the White House and to treat them with distinguished courtesy. Few men of his day were better fitted to create a refined circle at the executive mansion without the sacrifice of simplicity or sincerity. Nor was there ever any complaint of his hospitality or deportment at Monticello. While there he assumed an entirely different character. He was careful of his attire, he was scrupulous in his courtesy, and his fine manners were the theme of several distinguished writers who visited that hospitable mansion. The people he received at the White House were the guests of the nation, and expected at least the same attentions that were offered visitors to his private home.

Jefferson's table was famous. As stated in another chapter, he brought with him from Paris a butler and a cook who were said to be the most accomplished experts in the art of the cuisine that had ever been in this country. His residence in France had given him a relish for fine dishes and a knowledge of the possibilities of the kitchen. The writers of his day describe his dinners as perfection, and his viands and wines as being the best that could be furnished. One of the Federalist Congressmen remarked that he "wished the President's French politics were as good as his French wines." Patrick Henry denounced him

on the stump as one who "abjured his native victuals."

Nor was there ever any criticism of the abundance or the quality of the official banquets. We know that he was generous to extravagance in providing for his table. He went to market himself two or three times a week, and in his voluminous note-books we learn when green peas and lettuce, spring lamb, strawberries, and other delicacies first made their appearance. He took great interest in such things, and it seems strange that a President of the United States, with the great cares and responsibilities resting upon him, should have devoted so much time to the domestic department of his household.

It was the "rule of pêle-mêle" at the Presidential banquets—which is the French for pell-mell, and literally translated means "confusion and disorder"—that the foreign ministers complained of. No seats were reserved for the guests, no escorts assigned to the ladies, but everybody present was expected to make a rush for the table when the dinner was announced, seize the places which pleased them best, and otherwise conduct themselves in an independent manner without regard to their neighbors. This was Jefferson's idea of democratic simplicity as exemplified at the banquets he gave to distinguished people who visited Washington. The consequence was what might be expected. The rudest people pushed in first and seized the best places. People of refinement who refused to engage in the scramble and proceeded in order to the dining-room were obliged to content themselves with what was left. On one occasion several members of the diplomatic corps found themselves in a most unpleasant predicament. Merry writes to his government, "I was proceeding to place my-

self next to the wife of the Spanish minister when a member of the House of Representatives quickly passed by me and seized the seat without Mr. Jefferson using any means to prevent it or taking any care to see that I was otherwise placed." The Spanish minister also officially reported the incident to his government as an insult to his wife.

A few days later the members of the diplomatic corps were invited to dine with Secretary Madison, who, strange to say, had adopted the "pêle-mêle" practice of the President. It must have been very mortifying to Mrs. Madison, who was a woman of great dignity and refinement. In the scramble for seats at the table Mrs. Merry, wife of the British minister, was left without an escort. When her husband discovered her absence he sought her in the drawing-room and escorted her to the only place that remained vacant. Imagine the British ambassador at this day trying to find a place at the President's table for his wife, with all the other guests seated!

The members of the diplomatic corps held several meetings and decided to retaliate. They determined that, whenever they entertained, each minister should escort his own wife to the table and allow the Americans to take care of themselves. This resolution was carried out at the residence of the Spanish minister shortly after, and created a great sensation. The Federalist newspapers relieved the situation somewhat by ridiculing the administration and making it a burlesque. The French minister took great delight in the scandal and wrote Talleyrand that "Washington society is turned upside down."

After a little experience Jefferson appears to have thought better of the matter and made an effort to correct his mistake. He sent Secretary

Madison to ask whether the British minister would dine with the President privately, and, supposing that he had received an affirmative reply, wrote an invitation with his own hand. Merry, seeing a chance to show his contempt for the President, addressed an official note to the Secretary of State inquiring whether he was invited in his official or in his private capacity. If the former, it would be necessary for him to obtain the permission of his sovereign after what had occurred. If invited in his private capacity, he required an assurance from the President that he would be treated decently. To this Madison replied in the following language:

"Mr. Madison presents his compliments to Mr. Merry. He has communicated to the President Mr. Merry's note of this morning, and has the honor to remark to him that the President's invitation being in the style used by him in like cases, has no reference to the points of form which will deprive him of the pleasure of Mr. Merry's company at dinner on Monday next. Mr. Madison tenders to Mr. Merry his distinguished considerations."

Jefferson soon had reason to regret the incident. It was the topic of several serious Cabinet consultations. The British minister construed Madison's note as an insult and reported it to his government as another exhibition of insolence to himself and to his sovereign. The President was thus compelled to make it the subject of a long communication to Monroe, our minister to London, who was directed to explain and apologize to the British government. Like Adam, he threw the blame upon a woman—Mrs. Merry, who, he says, induced her husband to take official notice of the affair. "Be assured she is a virago," he declares, and "if she perseveres she must eat her soup at home." In closing the communication Jefferson represents to Monroe that "It had excited general

emotions of contempt and indignation that the agents of foreign nations should assume to dictate to us what shall be the laws of good society."

Tom Moore, the Irish poet, who was visiting Washington at this time, amused himself and the British public by satirical descriptions of the social usages at the American capital and the behavior of the President towards his guests. Like Trollope, Dickens, and other English writers in the earlier period of our history, he took the President as a true type, and represented that the Americans were "a people without manners or refinement," thus creating a false impression among Europeans. There is no doubt that Jefferson's rudeness to Merry in a great measure hastened and did much to provoke the War of 1812.

The British minister was not the only member of the diplomatic corps with whom Jefferson had difficulties. Senor Yrujo, the Spanish minister, was quite as troublesome, and perhaps a little more so because his wife was the daughter of Governor McKean, of Philadelphia, an influential Republican. Jefferson was placed in an embarrassing position because of that relationship. Yrujo took advantage of the semi-protection of his father-in-law to annoy the Secretary of State and the President in a most exasperating manner, and Madison directed our minister at Madrid to ask for his recall. The pretext was an alleged attempt to bribe the editor of a Philadelphia paper to publish articles reflecting upon the administration, but the real cause was the annoyance caused by Yrujo's behavior concerning the "pêle-mêle" methods at the White House.

The Spanish government took no notice of the request. Yrujo retired from Washington and took refuge at the residence of his father-in-law

in Philadelphia, where Jefferson sent a member of the Cabinet to give him and his wife's family to understand that his return to Washington would not be agreeable to the government. The Spaniard remained in Philadelphia but continued to be a thorn in the flesh of the President because of frequent defiant and insulting notes addressed to the Secretary of State concerning his treatment on social occasions at the White House and at other places. He sent copies of these letters to his diplomatic colleagues, to his home government, and to the newspapers for publication. As Yrujo had the moral support of the diplomatic corps, it was extremely embarrassing for the President and the Secretary of State, and afforded the Federalist newspapers much material for criticising and ridiculing the administration.

Jefferson decidedly got the worst of the controversy with the diplomatic corps, and during the remainder of his life regretted that he had allowed his political interests to interfere with the laws of hospitality and propriety. Nor did the social war end with his term as President. It continued into the Madison administration, and was the chief cause of the disparaging comments made by foreigners upon American society.

About the middle of his second term Jefferson changed his habits and became a gentleman again. He received visitors with dignity and decorum. He adopted the customs of refined society, and the criticisms of his manners in dispensing hospitality were changed to compliments. He also altered his style of dress. "He has laid aside his old slippers," wrote Senator Plummer, of Massachusetts, "and his old red waistcoat and soiled courderoy small clothes, and is dressed all in black with clean linen and powdered hair."

The late Samuel J. Tilden, a Democrat who resembled Jefferson in many respects, was the gratified owner of one of the account-books, now in the Lenox Library, New York, covering his personal expenditures from January 1, 1791, to December 28, 1803, including three years as Secretary of State, four years as Vice-President, and three years as President. It is an octavo of heavy paper, fully bound in calf, and each page is crowded, with margins of only an eighth of an inch or less, in the very fine but legible writing of Jefferson. In places it is so fine as to require a handglass to be read by persons whose sight is not perfect. At the end of the book is an index containing all the names that appear in the account, giving not only the pages upon which they appear, but the number of times they appear on each page. It is a miracle of neatness and pains, and shows the time and extraordinary care that the President must have spent with his accounts. Between the items of expenditure are memoranda of matters which the writer desired to remember. It appears from the account that Jefferson frequently travelled in company with Adams and Madison, each keeping a memoranda of their joint expenses and afterwards dividing them. There are also several joint accounts with Franklin, and we find among other things that he and Adams visited Stratford-on-Avon together, that they paid a shilling for inspecting Shakespeare's house, another for seeing his tomb, four shillings two pence for entertainment at the Inn, and two shillings as fees to the servants. And Jefferson makes a note, by the way, that Adams "ventured the bold remark that Shakespeare's wit, fancy, taste and judgment, his knowledge of life, character and nature were immortal."

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY

1803

May. 3 recieved of J. Barnes 400. D.

4 inclosed the 400. D. to mr Dupont in N.Y. to purchase a bill of exchange to be remitted to Paris.

by letter from Mr. I am informed that Rives & co. credit John Perry 112. £. who credits it to me, I am to credit it to J. H. Craw who credits it to Rives & co.

also that instead of my having paid Lilly a 50. D. bill ante. Mar 31. I paid him by mistake a 5. D. bill. I must credit him therefore the 45. D. or rather charge him only the 5. D.

Amount of expenditures from 1802. Mar 4. to 1803. mar 4.

Provisions	4059.98	
Wines	1276 63	
Groceries	162.76	6981.37
fuel	553.68.	
Secretary	600.	
Servants	2012.89	
Miscellaneous	433 20	
Stable	393.662	
Dress sundry &c.	220.052	
charities 1262.00 / 221	1585.80	
Presidential house	3216 53	
Stock on hand 1st Jan.	498.215	
Manufactures: House expences	393.	7289.59
Plantation do.	1236.85	
Family	1020.71	3255.24
Disbursements: Loans	370.75	
bills before No 2	589.61	
Lands bought	2156.06	
Buildings	3587.92	
carriages	762.75	
furniture	664.10	7876.99
	25,262.19	

Details of some of the general heads.

Buildings		Plantation	
Mont. & Malle. masonry	1337.25	Nailery	609.53
Hope. 50	28.50	mill pasture 25	
Chiselm. millwork	149.50	negros 44 & 19	491.67
Bladen. marble	5.50	corn	750.
Bram. lime	124.28	bacon	106.72
Wansbro. plasterer	247.15	fish	60
negro hire	200.	molasses	50.53
hauling	219.60	hay	42.
plank, sawing &c	189.11	taxes	72.69
J. Perry, carpentry	516.	horse	33.33
R. Perry. 2	26.23	mall exp.	10.
Old ham. joinery	122.50	Lilly	10.
Anderson. limeprid.	113.53		2216.85
	3587.92	negro hire remitted	

Thus distribution under heads is not compleat. to make a full statement of all my recipts & disbursements some other articles must be added conjecturally (the accounts not being in hand) as follows.

Disbursements analysed as above 25,262.19

1802. Oct. 7. paiment to Brown & Rives for Monticello household exp. plantation and buildings, not analysed . . . . . 1.000.

Credited for some articles in Craven's, J. Perry's, Peyton's, Wardlaw's, Lilly's, the nailery, & store accounts, conjecturally 1,457.73

making my whole disbursements 27,720.92

These disbursements have been met as follows.

Salary	25,000	
Tobacco, clear of expences	912.61	
Rents rec^d & analysed in the above acc^t	389.11 ^{cts}	
do. allowed in acc^t with Craven, Perry, Peyton &c.	700.	1089.11
Receipts for nails analysed in above acc^t	122.27	
do. allowed in acc^t for 5^{ths} not included in analysis about	757.73	900. 27,904.72
1803. mar 4. I ought by this statement to have had cash in hand		183.80
but I had actually in hand on that day only		293.
so that the errors of this statement amount to		109.20

the whole of the nails used for Monticello, & smith's work are omitted, because no account was kept of them. this makes part of the error. & the article of nails has been extraordinary this year.

gave in Charity 20.D

Lemaire's acct May 1–7 Provisions 50.10 {33 serv^ts 7.10 master} meat 19.0
17.10 / 17 = 1. Servants 1.75 butter 33
60 b. coal 21. eggs 18.0
72.85 vegetab 7.80

servants wages to May 1. Lemaire 30.
Julien 25.
Joseph Dougherty 16.
Wm Hickyjames 14.
Chas Spalding 14.
Noel 16.
John 9.
Jack 18.
miss Dougherty 9.
Sally Hewerman washer 7.
Edy 2 147.
gave order on J. Barnes for 215.05

gave in charity 3.D — recd of J. Barnes 28.D

recd from Victor Dupont & M.Y. his excha on Messrs Dupont de Nemours pere et fils & co Banquiers, rue de Montholon N° 300. à Paris for 2100th for the 400.D sent him ante May 4. and inclosed by triplicates to Fulwar Skipwith in a letter written May 4. for wines.

gave in charity 2.D

inclosed to James Ast of Baltimore 5.D. for a book

recieved of J. Barnes 880.D.

inclosed to C. Jefferson 750.D.

drew on C. Jefferson in favr of J.W. Eppes for 400.D for the purchase N.W. 22

inclosed to Gabriel Lilly 130.D to wit 45.D. to correct the error with him ante May 4. and 85.D. for balance settled with him ante March 30.

Lemaire's acct May 8–14 Provisions for servts 33
38.72 / 20 = 1.445 meat 120. lb masters 28.90
butter 20 eggs 15 doz vegetab 6.17 Pres's house, furnit &c 26.79
gave him order on J. Barnes for 88.85

gave Christopher Sewerman in charity 30.D. by ord. on J. Barnes

gave in charity 1.D.

Lemaire's acct May 15–21 Provisions for servts 33. meat lb 184
Do masters 19.385 butter 24
38.695 / 22 = 1.62 Stores of Do 10.31 eggs 3 doz
Do for Monticello 11.77 vegetab 7.35
servts 4.40
fuel 1.60
Pres^d's house furnit^re 10.875
contingencies 0.31
gave him order on J. Barnes for 130.05

Dougherty's acct Provender 17.50 Saddery .50 Smith 3.75 cooking 1.75
Pres's House from 1.25 = 24.75 for which gave ord. on J. Barnes.

gave in charity 2.D.

Lemaire's acct May 22–28. Provisions servts 33 meat lb 205
masters 33.67 butter 32
33.67 / 26 = 1.30 eggs 24.D
fuel 3.06 vegetab. 10.28
Pres^d's house 89
gave him order on J. Barnes for 70.53

gave Joseph Dougherty ord. on J. Barnes for 10.D. to buy a mock. bird & cage
recd back from him 1.D.

gave in charity 2.D.

gave Sam. Carr ord. on J. Barnes for 73.5 for 18. barrels of oranges from Col^o Lile

gave Mathy ord. on J. B. for 8.D.

gave Mr^s Stewart ord. on J. Barnes for 10.D. on acc^t of his father

gave in charity 2.D

Lemaire's acct May 29– June 4 Provisions for servts 33 meat 196.lb
masters 19.75 butter 20
19.75 / 24 = .82 wood 1.25 eggs 12 doz
Pres's house furnit 45.25 vegetab. 6.20
on Bagatelle 2.38
firewood wages 1.62
gave him order on J. Barnes for 230.55

We learn also that while he was in Philadelphia during his term as Secretary of State Jefferson paid four hundred dollars a year rent to William Hamilton, and the following are sample entries:

"Sept. 8th Took possession of drawg room & parlor. Begin to dine at home." On the 10th: "Billy's wife (Mrs. Gardiner) begins to wash for me @ £20 a year." On the 11th he closed up his accounts with Mrs. House," with whom he had been living, by giving her "order on bank for 75⅓D. in full. Gave her servant 2D."

"12th Recd from bank a post note payable to Carter Braxton for 116⅔D. and remitted it to him under cover to Dr Currie to pay for the horse I bought of him.

"Gave J. Madison ord. on bank for 95.26D.

"Recd back from him 23.26D over paimt. our account standing thus

"Travelling expen pd by him.....	38.66	
Price of horse I bought of him £25 Virgil..	83.33	
Paid by him Dec 26.....		50
Jan 12.....		95.25
Balance returned by him.....	23.26	
	145.25	145.25"

Very few men were ever so exact, so punctual, or so careful about details. Besides these expense accounts, he kept a garden-book, a farm-book, a weather-book, and a receipt-book, all of which are wonders of neatness and minuteness, and the records, after the lapse of a century, are clear and legible, although as fine as diamond type. The price of his horses, the fees paid to ferrymen, the tips he gave to servants, the amount he dropped into the contribution box at church, were all carefully recorded, but we find no entries of political expenses.

By an entry under April 5, 1791, we learn the name of Jefferson's landlord in New York, and that while Secretary of State he occupied a small house in Maiden Lane. Hamilton, his colleague in the Cabinet, lived in Pine Street, and Aaron Burr in Nassau Street, on the site now occupied by Belmont's banking-house, where Burr's sign as attorney-at-law was hanging as late as 1836. The entry reads: "April 5 delivd to H. Remsen to be sent to Rob & P. Bruce the post note of 66.5 Doll. in full for the years rent of their house in New York. Note it was put into an open letter from me to them."

In the spring of the year that he was elected President (1800) he sat to Stuart for his portrait, for which his diary shows that he paid one hundred dollars. A portrait of the same class to-day would cost ten times as much. Jefferson's taste in art must have advanced considerably during the previous eight years, for we find under July 12, 1792, "pd Williams for drawing my portrait 14D."

It would be a satisfaction to know what has become of Williams's fourteen-dollar sketch.

There are no entries in Jefferson's expense-book for his first inauguration day, March 4, 1801, nor for the day previous; but we find that on the 2d he settled his board-bill at Conrad's with an order for two hundred and fifty dollars and sixty-seven cents on a Mr. Barnes. On the 5th he seems to have expended nothing, but on the 6th he gave a servant five cents and on the 9th subscribed for the *Palladium,* for which he paid J. Brown two dollars and fifty cents, and "received from J. Barnes ten eagles." He notes that "Edward Maher comes into my service @ 12 d per month & 2 suites." On the 13th he "gave $2.25 in charity" and on the 18th he "employed Joseph

Rapin as steward at 100 guineas a year for himself and his wife as femme de charge." On the 20th he settled his account with the barber by the payment of one dollar; on the 28th he "gave in charity ten d.; ditto 20 d.;" on the 31st "1 d." more was given in charity, and he paid Munchin two dollars for a pair of boots. Those constitute the entire expenditures for his first month as President of the United States, although we find later that he purchased a considerable amount of supplies for which bills were rendered later.

He went to Monticello about the first of April and remained there until the last of May, making preparations for permanent absence at Washington. During this time the White House was in charge of Joseph Rapin, the steward he had brought from Paris, and the affairs of the government were looked after by James Madison, the Secretary of State, and Edward Coles, the President's private secretary, whose salary was six hundred dollars a year. On his return to Washington we learn from the account-book "on the 27th of May, 1801 John Cramer comes into my service @ 12 a month + 2d for drink, 2 suites of cloathes & a pair of boots."

Running through his expenditures for the year we find that Jefferson's duties as President did not distract his attention from his household affairs, and the most careful and exact housewife could not have been more conscientious in noting every penny paid for any purpose. When he gave a tip to his servants or dropped a penny in the hand of a beggar he recorded it as faithfully as the payments of interest upon his debts. On July 27, 1801, he bought a boot-jack for seventy-five cents, and we know every time he purchased an article of linen or a shaving-mug or a pair of hose. The

President must have had many appeals from the poor and from benevolent associations, because every few days there is an entry of from two dollars to fifty dollars "in charity." In January, 1802, his charitable contributions amounted to two hundred and twenty-five dollars, and during his first year in the White House the total was $1585.60.

It has been suggested by sceptical persons that in Jefferson's accounts, as in other cases, "charity covers a multitude of sins," but there is no justification for such a suggestion. It is possible, however, that his contributions to political organizations and newspapers may have been entered as "charity," because none appear in any other form. His private letters show that he sometimes contributed to the support of several newspapers that advocated the principles of the Republican party and defended the policy of his administration, and also that certain literary gentlemen who wrote pamphlets and newspaper paragraphs frequently applied to him for pecuniary aid, but there is no record of any such payments in his expense accounts.

On January 1, 1802, we find an entry that gives an interesting suggestion of the manner in which funds were transmitted from one part of the country to the other in the days before bank checks and drafts were used for such purposes. He writes: "Inclosed to James Taylor of Norfolk 705 d in bank bills cut in two one set of halves sent now the other to follow by another post this to pay for the 4 + 5 of Madeira. Inclosed to Gibson and Jefferson 1500 in bank bills in halves as above." On January 8 following appears the entry, "Sent James Taylor & G. & J. the rest of his bills."

At the end of his first three months as President

Jefferson summed up his expenses for that period as follows:

"Provisions	$215.68
Wood	109.08
Miscellanies	48.98
Servants	192.00
	565.84"

and notes that "there are moreover considerable supplies to-wit groceries." It will be noticed that the addition is incorrect and that the total should be $565.74. These mistakes frequently occur throughout the account-book, although Jefferson tells us in one of his letters that "mathematics is my great passion. Mathematics is music to me."

A century ago there were almost as many servants in the White House as there are to-day. The monthly pay-roll on June 9, 1801, was as follows:

"M. Rapin	$62.67
M. Julien	25.
Joseph Daugherty	16.
Chris Liverman	14.
Edward Maher	14.
Maria Murphy	9.
Noel Garçon de Cuisine	8.
The cook woman	30.
John Kramer	5.50
John Baker	10.
Captain L's men half a month's drink	1.
	195.17"

"This," he says, "makes the regular establism of the servants 135 d per month besides liveries and board and besides Rapin." This is another inaccuracy, because, if he deducts from this total the wages of Rapin, the steward, which are $62.67 per month, it will leave the pay-roll for the remainder $132.50.

At least three of these servants,—Rapin, the steward, M. Julien, the French chef, whom he

brought from Paris while Vice-President, and Noel, the kitchen boy, were French; Daugherty, Maher, and Murphy must have been Irish, and it is probable that "the cook woman" was a negress, although we have no evidence to that effect. Mrs. Randolph mentions in one of her letters that all of the servants at the Executive Mansion were white except one woman and a coachman who were brought from Monticello. Being slaves their names do not appear in this list. Another matter worthy of comment is that Mr. Jefferson should employ free whites as servants at the Executive Mansion when he owned one hundred and fifty or more slaves on his plantations, only a few days' journey distant. No explanation of this fact appears in any of his letters, nor is it alluded to. Knowing his abhorrence of slavery, perhaps we may properly infer that he desired to set an example to his fellow-countrymen.

Edward Bacon, his overseer, says: "I visited Mr. Jefferson at Washington three times while he was president. The second time I went he had got very much displeased with two of his servants, Davy and Fanny, and he wished me to take them to Alexandria and sell them. They were married and had got into a terrible quarrel. Davy was jealous of his wife, and I reckon with good reason. When I got there they learned what I had come for, and they were in great trouble. They wept, and begged and made good promises and made such an ado, that they begged the old gentleman out of it. But it was a good lesson for them. I never heard any more complaint of them; and when I left Mr. Jefferson, I left them both at Monticello. He had eleven servants with him from Monticello. He had a French cook in Washington named Julien, and he took Eda and

Fanny there to learn French cookery. He always preferred French cookery. Eda and Fanny were afterwards his cooks at Monticello. He had a very long dining room and his table was chock full every one of the sixteen days I was there. There were Congressmen, foreigners and all sort of people to dine with him. He dined at four o'clock, and they generally sat and talked until night."

Speaking of Rapin, Bacon says: "He was a very smart man, was well educated and was as much of a gentleman in his appearance as any man. His carriage driver was an Irishman named Dougherty. He would get out the wagon early in the morning, and Rapin would go with him to Georgetown to market. I have all my life been in the habit of getting up about four o'clock in the morning, and I went with them very often. Lamar told me that it often took fifty dollars to pay for what marketing they would use in a day. Mr. Jefferson's salary did not support him while he was president."

At the end of the year Jefferson was accustomed to foot up his expenses, and the following analysis from March 4, 1801, to March 4, 1802, the first year of his Presidency, appears:

"Secretary	450.	
Provisions	4504.84	
Fuel	690.88	
Miscellaneous	295.82	
Servants	2675.85	
Groceries (not wines)	2003.71	
Wines	2797.38	
Stable	884.45	
Dress Saddlery &c.	557.36	
Charities { 763.20 / 215. }	978.20	
Contingencies	357.81	
Books & Stationery	391.30	16797.59

Debts prior to March 4-01 pd.....	3417.59	
Loans	170.	
Acquisitions	4712.54	
Building	2076.29	
Furniture	545.48	11422.10
Monte- { Household Expenses	652.82	
cello { Plantation	3732.23	4385.05
Family aids	1030.14	1030.10
	32634.84	32634.84"

In addition to this he often takes certain items of expenditure and classifies them, such as the amount paid for seed on his farm, the amount paid for travelling expenses, his expenditures for books and wines, and here we have during his first year in the White House what he calls "A View of the Consumption of butchers meat from Sept 6, 1801 to June 12, 1802:

"1801	lb	lb	
Sept 6–30	419	25 days is 17	per day for 11 servants. no masters.
Oct 1–Dec 5,	2361	71 days is 38¾	
		deduct 18	per day for 11 servts.
		20¾	for the masters.
Dec 6–May 1	6246	152 days is 41	per day
		deduct 18	per day for 11 servts.
		23	for masters
May 2–7	212	6 days is 35½	per day
		deduct 15	for 9 servants
		20½	for the masters
May 8–29	357	22 days is 16¼	per day for 9 servts
		or 1⅔	each no masters
May 30–June 12	375	14 days is 26¾	
		deduct 18	for 11 servants
		8¾	for masters"

With his first year's salary as President he managed to pay off many of his small debts and to get through the year on his income, which includes his receipts from his property in Virginia. The idea of laying anything by seems not to have

occurred to him. He thinks he had about three hundred dollars in hand at the end of the year.

Under date of October 31, 1802, appears the following analysis of Mr. Jefferson's expenses as President for the previous six months:

"HOUSEHOLD.

	Provisions.	Fuel.	Servants.	Contingencies.	Monthly.
May	310.68	12	165.17		487.85
June	304.03	70	160.20	23.90	558.13
July	307.16	27.75	176.87	11.63	523.11
*Aug	150.21		175	13.45	338.66
*Sep	209.17		149		358.17
Oct	289.55	287.05	365.46	12.83	954.89
	1570.80	396.80	1191.40	61.81	3220.81
	261.80	66.13	198.50	10.30	535.80

"STABLE.

	Forage.	Smith.	Saddler.	Contingent.	Monthly.	Total monthly.
May	21.12			11	32.12	519.97
June	19.32	3.74	3.74	4.375	31.175	589.305
July	100.78	5.72	3.12	2	111.62	634.73
*Aug				.925	10.712	349.372
*Sep	5	15.50		.75		368.882
Oct	61.67	13	1.82		77.24	1032.13
	207.89	37.96	8.68	19.05	273.58	3494.39
	34.65	6.32	1.44	3.17	45.60	582.00

* "I was absent these months.

"The above does not include Mr. Barnes bills for provisions abt 150 p..... 900
Cloathing 7 suits of which 5 are liveries about..... 350
Doctors bills about..... 50
Wines amounting to about..... 500
1800"

During the year from March 4, 1802, to March 4, 1803, while he was President, his total disbursements were twenty-five thousand two hundred and sixty-three dollars, and he classifies them as follows, although it is noticed that his additions are incorrect:

" Provisions		4059.98	
Wines		1296.63	
Groceries		1624.76	6981.37
Fuel		553.68	
Secretary		600.	
Servants		2014.89	
Miscellaneous		433.30	
Stable		399.06	
Dress		246.05	
Charities		1585.60	
Pres House		226.59	
Books		497.41	
Household ex.		393.	7449.59
Monte-cello	Plantation	2226.45	
	Family	1028.79	3255.20
Acquisitions	Loans	274.	
	Debts	529.61	
	Lands bought	2156.86	
	Buildings	3567.92	
	Carriages	363.75	
	Furniture	664.10	7576.99
			25263.19"

He notes that these disbursements were met by his salary of twenty-five thousand dollars as President, by nine hundred and fifteen dollars, proceeds of the sale of tobacco, three hundred and eighty-nine dollars received from the rent of land, etc., etc., etc., and then enters this confession:

" I ought by this statement to have cash in hand.... $183.70
But I actually have in hand..... 293.
So that the errors of this statemnt amt to..... 109.20

" The whole of the nails used for Monticello and smiths-work are omitted because no account was kept of them. This makes part of the error and the articles of nails has been extraordinary this year."

VIII

JEFFERSON'S FRIENDS AND HIS ENEMIES

JEFFERSON'S affection for and his loyalty to his friends became a proverb, but he was very exacting in his demands upon them, and dropped them when they would not submit to his domination. Like other great leaders of men, he was willing to share his honors with and accept the advice of those who conceded his superiority, but rivalry could not be tolerated, and the ambitions of others must be subordinate to his own. For these reasons he fell out with Patrick Henry, John Marshall, and John Randolph, a famous triumvirate. James Madison was always his nearest and most valued friend, and although a stronger man that Jefferson in some respects, his amiable temper and admirable tact permitted him to enjoy a degree of independence that Jefferson would not allow in any other of his apostles. Monroe was a loyal follower and imitator, but their natures were not congenial.

Jefferson and Madison were born within a few miles of each other; their parents were friends, and their intimacy began in childhood, although there was a difference of seven years in their ages. When Jefferson returned from college, laden with learning and bursting with his own importance, the elder Madison consulted him concerning the education of his son, and in a patronizing way Jefferson prepared a manual of study and reading for the lad to follow. From that hour he continued to treat Madison as a protégé, and the latter

submitted to it without objection. He never tired of boasting of Madison's abilities, his learning, his purity of character, political integrity, his wisdom and accuracy of judgment, as if he were himself responsible for them, and it was a part of his life plan that this beloved disciple should follow in his political footsteps, succeed him in his various offices, and wear the mantle that fell from his shoulders. The fidelity of their friendship was as remarkable as its duration, for during fifty years of more or less intimate companionship they never quarrelled. In his will Jefferson says:

"I give to my old friend James Madison of Montpelier, my gold mounted walking staff of animal horn, as a token of the cordial and affectionate friendship, which, for half a century has united us in the same principles and pursuits of what we have deemed for the greatest good of our country."

His boyish affection was expended upon Dabney Carr, with whom there was a David-and-Jonathan relationship,—afterwards strengthened when Carr married his sister Martha. Carr was the best beloved of his companions at school, and when at home, during the long summers, the friends and fellow-students were inseparable. Near Shadwell, Jefferson's home, was an isolated mountain, five hundred and eighty feet high, covered to the summit with the primeval forest, which he afterwards named Monticello. In the deepest shade of its luxuriant woods, under an ancient oak, the boy friends constructed a rustic seat; and thither they would retire with their books and pass peaceful days in study and conversation. Becoming strongly attached to the spot, they made a compact that whichever of them died first should be buried by the other under that grand old tree.

MONTPELIER, THE HOME OF JAMES MADISON

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA

The compact was fulfilled. Jefferson was absent from home when Carr died, and on his return found that his friend had been buried at Shadwell. Mindful of his promise, he had the body disinterred, and placed it beneath that tree whose branches now bend over such illustrious dead,—for that was the origin of the little graveyard of Monticello.

Among Jefferson's papers after his death there was found the following memorandum, written on a sheet of note-paper: "Send for a plate of copper to be nailed on the tree at the foot of his grave, with this inscription,—'To his virtue, good sense, learning, and friendship, this stone is dedicated by Thomas Jefferson, who of all men living, loved him most.'"

Next to Carr in Jefferson's youthful affections was Patrick Henry. Their intimacy, mutual confidences, and aspirations continued until political differences and personal rivalries forced them apart. Henry's impetuous nature and undisciplined disposition would not submit to the exactions of Jefferson's leadership. An incidental dispute over a trivial matter was the germ of a bitter enmity which ended only with their lives. Henry became a Federalist, a follower of Alexander Hamilton, and grew to hate Jefferson as hotly as he had once loved him. His old friend was often the object of his most vehement invective and merciless ridicule. Jefferson was inclined to be charitable, however, and in reply to a request for information from William Wirt, the biographer of Patrick Henry, furnished many interesting and valuable reminiscences, but said, "His apostacy sunk him to nothing in the estimation of his country, and a man who had been the idol of a country beyond any one that ever lived, descended to the grave

with less than its indifference, and verified the saying of the philosopher that 'no man must be called happy until he is dead.'" Jefferson in a letter to James Monroe says that "the office of Secretary of State was offered to P. H. [by President Adams] in order to draw him over and gain some popularity, but not until there was a moral certainty that he would not accept it."

When Jefferson was associated with Dr. Franklin in draughting the Declaration of Independence a mutual admiration was excited that lasted through their lives. His scientific inclinations led him to take an interest in Franklin's work, and they were frequently together in Philadelphia, as they afterwards were in Paris. He said that "Franklin was the greatest man and the greatest ornament of the age and the country in which he lived." When Franklin returned home, loaded with all the honors and love that the admiration of the French people could lavish upon him, Jefferson was appointed to take his place at the Court of St. Germain.

"You replace Dr. Franklin," said Count de Vergennes, the French Premier, to him.

"I merely succeed him; no one could replace him," was Jefferson's ready reply.

Five years later, when passing through Philadelphia on his way to New York to become Secretary of State, he found Franklin on his death-bed, and leaves in his memoirs an affectionate account of their last interview. Franklin placed in his hands a paper containing his recollections of interviews with the British ministry, when, before the Revolution, he was endeavoring to secure a peaceful separation of the colonies. Jefferson regarded it of the greatest historical importance, but it contained facts and comments decidedly prejudicial

to the honor and truthfulness of the British ministry at that date. Jefferson afterwards gave the manuscript to William Temple Franklin, the grandson and literary executor of the Great Printer, to publish with his other papers; but it did not appear with them, and he was never able to secure a satisfactory explanation of the omission. "It certainly established facts so atrocious to the British government that its suppression would be worth to them a great price," he said, "but could the grandson of Franklin be to such a degree an accomplice in the paracide of the memory of his immortal grand father."

In August, 1824, Lafayette arrived at New York. He had been intimate with Jefferson during Revolutionary times in the United States and afterwards while the latter was minister to France, and their correspondence had been maintained regularly for a quarter of a century. Upon his arrival Lafayette found awaiting him an invitation to Monticello in which Jefferson says, "We are impatient to give you embraces of friendship." To Monticello, therefore, Lafayette hastened as soon as possible, and Jefferson Randolph has left us a description of their meeting.

Until 1805, towards the close of the first year of his second term, John Randolph of Roanoke, able, impetuous, vindictive, equally gifted in eulogy and vituperation, was Jefferson's party leader and personal representative on the floor of the House of Representatives, and carried through all his schemes with an iron hand and an inflexible will. He gagged the House to pass the bill to pay for the Louisiana Territory and to carry out Jefferson's plan of government for it. During Jefferson's first term he did everything the President wanted done, but when, on December 6, 1805,

the President sent a confidential message to the House asking an appropriation for secret service during the war between France and England, Randolph astonished everybody by attacking Jefferson's policy and political integrity with the most vehement invective. He called him a Pharisee and a hypocrite, and dubbed him "St. Thomas of Cantingbury," a satire Jefferson never could appreciate. There was never a more radical or sensational change in the attitude of a member of the House, but Randolph was always an extremist, and was found on the skirmish-line in whatever enterprise he was engaged. He denounced Jefferson with the same vigor and the same persistency that he had shown in defending him. Thereafter he endeavored to defeat the measures introduced by the administration as eagerly as he had tried to pass them a few months before; but Jefferson's hold upon his party was so firm that only eleven Republicans went off with Randolph, and six of those returned to the ranks of their party before the end of the session. Jefferson took Randolph's defection philosophically, as usual, and endeavored to turn it to a political advantage. He afterwards represented to Madison that it solidified and harmonized the rest of the party.

All the reasons of Randolph's desertion were never given, and it excited many surmises. Randolph was too honorable to discuss his private relations with Jefferson, and the latter represented that he did not know the cause of the disaffection. Randolph's friends assumed that he had discovered improper political intrigues on Jefferson's part, and felt a genuine and honest dissatisfaction with the policy of the administration.

During the last night of the second session of

the Ninth Congress, when the duties on salt were under discussion in the House of Representatives, a member by the name of Williams was called to order by Thomas Mann Randolph, a son-in-law of President Jefferson, who construed his remarks as an insult to the President. John Randolph of Roanoke intimated that Thomas Mann Randolph was drunk. The latter lost his temper and attacked his colleague in a violent manner. John Randolph sent Garnet, also a Representative from Virginia, to demand an apology and retraction. Edward Coles, the private secretary of President Jefferson, represented Thomas Mann Randolph. Garnet, according to the custom of the time, informed Coles that his principal required a full retraction and apology, or Thomas Mann Randolph must give him the satisfaction of a gentleman. The emissaries separated to confer with their principals. In the meantime Jefferson, who abhorred duelling from principle and was apprehensive of a public scandal, persuaded his son-in-law to yield. Whereupon Thomas Mann Randolph arose in the House and explained that he had been laboring under a misapprehension; that he had supposed the remarks of John Randolph were intended for him, but was glad to be informed that they were not. He had no disposition to wound the feelings of any gentleman who did not intend to wound his feelings, and therefore desired to withdraw his recent references to his colleague and apologize for his mistake. John Randolph made a conciliatory reply, accepting the explanation and apology in good faith; but the incident rankled in the breasts of both and gave the President great anxiety. He feared that the ill-feeling might break out at any slight provocation, and a few days later, after his son-in-law had returned to Monti-

cello, he appealed to James Ogilvie, a mutual friend and neighbor, as follows:

"DEAR SIR:—As Mr. Randolph might possibly be from home & the inclosed in that case be opened by my daughter, I have taken the liberty of putting it under your cover with a request to put it into his own hands. The subject of it is perhaps unknown to my daughter, & may as well continue so. It's object is to induce Mr Randolph to act with coolness & an attention to his situation in this unhappy affair between him and J. R., which the newspapers are endeavoring to revive. It is not inclination in anybody, but a fear of the opinion of the world which leads men to the absurd & immoral decision of differences by duel. The greatest service, therefore, which Mr. T. M. R.'s friends can render him is to convince him that altho' the world esteems courage & disapproves of the want of it, yet in a case like his, & especially where it has been before put out of doubt, the mass of mankind & particularly that thinking part whose esteem we value, would condemn in a husband & father of a numerous family every thing like forwardness in this barbarous and lawless appeal. A conduct, cool, candid, and merely defensive is quite as much as could be admitted by any in such a case as his; and I verily believe that if such a conduct be observed on his part, the matter may yet die away. I should be unwilling to have it known that I meddle at all in this, and therefore write to you in confidence. Accept my friendly salutations & assurances of esteem & respect.

"TH: JEFFERSON.

"MR. OGILVIE."

The popular explanation of Randolph's defection was Jefferson's indifference regarding the impeachment of Justice Chase of the Supreme Court, who, in a decision from the bench, had denounced the democratic tendencies of the executive branch of the government. Jefferson resented this as a violation of courtesy as well as an attack upon the prerogatives of a coördinate branch of the government, and encouraged Randolph, even if he did not request him, to secure Chase's impeachment. Randolph was prosecutor and conducted the case with great zeal and ability, but the Senate, although it had a Democratic majority, acquitted

Chase on every count. Jefferson showed no interest in the trial. It was even whispered that he considered the impeachment ill-advised and was opposed to conviction. If Randolph heard these rumors they would naturally provoke his fierce and dramatic nature beyond forgiveness. He became the President's most violent opponent and most relentless critic from that moment, and the chief instrument in disturbing the serenity of Jefferson's second term.

Another Virginian who refused to accept the political doctrines of Jefferson or submit to his dictation was John Marshall. He was studying law with George Wythe in Williamsburg when that gentleman was engaged with Jefferson in writing a new code for Virginia. While Jefferson was in Paris Marshall and Madison became the most conspicuous figures in the State, and more than any other of the citizens were responsible for its ratification of the new Constitution, to which he objected. When he returned to be Secretary of State he resumed his influence over Madison, but Marshall had grown beyond him, and in the Cabinet quarrels took the side of Washington and Hamilton. Thus alienated from his former leader, Marshall grew away from him until mutual criticisms made them enemies. Jefferson was about ten years older than Marshall; they were born and reared in the same neighborhood, and Jefferson attempted to exercise over him, as he did over Madison and Monroe, the influence of an elder brother. Marshall resented the patronizing disposition of the older man and his tendency to dictation. Madison was more amiable, and clung to Jefferson like a vine to a tree. Jefferson said of him that he lacked firmness of character, but Marshall had enough for two men.

His individuality was quite as strong, his spirit of independence quite as vigorous, and his stubbornness as well developed as that of Jefferson himself.

Adams offered Jefferson an opportunity to visit Paris again in a diplomatic capacity, but it was impossible for him to accept without resigning the Vice-Presidency. Jefferson recommended the appointment of Madison, his beloved disciple, but the President selected Marshall instead without consulting him and without reference to his unfriendly disposition. Jefferson considered Marshall an ingrate and a deserter from the little circle of his satellites, and took occasion to publicly criticise the manner in which his mission to France was managed. When Marshall returned to New York the leaders of the Federalist party gave him an ovation, and the members of both houses of Congress tendered him a public dinner. On this occasion the phrase that became so familiar afterwards, "Millions for Defense, but not one cent for Tribute," was one of the sentiments in the list of toasts, being an allusion to the attempt of Talleyrand to extort blackmail from the American envoys.

Jefferson wrote a spiteful letter about Marshall which made the latter angry, and he went home to Virginia and ran for Congress against the opposition of Jefferson, who called him a "monarchist" and "an unprincipled and impudent Federal bulldog."

Towards the end of the Adams administration Marshall was appointed Secretary of State, and while occupying that office, a few weeks before the inauguration of Jefferson, was nominated Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court. Jefferson considered this an invasion of his rights and pre-

rogatives. He held that President Adams should not have filled so important an office just before the expiration of his term, but should have left the vacancy to be filled by his successor. But Adams never lost an opportunity to put a friend in office, and Judge Marshall had been his strongest supporter. Jefferson particularly resented the appointment of Marshall because he was not only a political but a personal enemy. No one in public life at that time was more obnoxious to him, not even Hamilton.

During the eight years which followed the President and the Chief-Justice were continually at war. Jefferson was opposed to a permanent judiciary; he wanted to amend the Constitution by changing the life-tenure of judges to terms of four or six years and subject them to removal by the President like all other officials of the government, on the theory that life offices were contrary to the spirit of republican institutions. Commenting freely upon this subject, he indulged in personal criticisms of the court and Judge Marshall's interpretation of the Constitution, which were not at all in accordance with his views.

Naturally Judge Marshall did not relish these criticisms from the President, but from his lofty position upon the bench he could afford to forget personal animosities, and did not permit his interpretation of the Constitution to be influenced by such considerations; but he never lost an opportunity to make Jefferson unhappy, and the trial of Aaron Burr afforded him an opportunity to torment the President.

Burr was one of Jefferson's ablest and most efficient aides in the organization of the Democratic party. His brilliant attainments and captivating personality made him a power, while his natural

inclination for intrigue tempted him to methods which his chief would not have approved in public, but did not hesitate to use to his own advantage. His knowledge of Burr's immorality and tricky disposition awakened distrust and led him into duplicity, which, however, would have been natural to any politician. In their correspondence Jefferson was apparently frank and friendly, but to others he refers to Burr with "habitual caution" and frequently questions his integrity. In writing Madison, to whom he always spoke with the freedom of confidence, he frequently revealed his suspicions. Similar reflections upon Burr's honesty appeared in a letter to Senator Breckenridge, of Kentucky, which, when published, Jefferson was compelled to repudiate, although it was undoubtedly genuine. In his diary, which was naturally his closest confidant, he writes:

"I hav never seen Colo Burr till he becm. a member of the Senate. His condt very soon inspird me with distrust. I habitually cautd Mr. Madison against trusting him too much. I saw that under genl W and Mr. Adams, whener a great military apt or a diplomatic one was to be made he came post to Phila to show himself, & in fact he was always in the market if they wanted him. He was indeed told by Dayton in 1800 that he might be Sec at war, but this bid was too late. His election as V.P. was then foreseen. With these impressions of Colo Burr there never has been any intimacy between us and but little association."

"Against Burr personally I never had one hostile sentiment," he wrote to a friend. "I have never thought him an honest, fair dealing man, but considered him as a crooked gun or other perverted machine whose aim or shot you could never be

sure of, still while he possessed the confidence of the nation, I thought it my duty to respect in him their confidence and to treat him as if he deserved it."

During the heated controversy over the Presidency in 1800, when there was a tie in the electoral vote for Burr and himself, he had reason to suspect his opponent's loyalty, and was fully aware of Burr's attempt to use corrupt influences to secure his own election. Nevertheless, at the close of the contest Jefferson commended him in the most cordial terms as a man of honor and integrity, a course probably explained by the last sentence of the letter just quoted. One looks in vain through Jefferson's writings for a condemnation of the murder of Alexander Hamilton or even a regret, although previous to that tragedy and often afterwards he expressed his horror of duelling.

At the close of his term as Vice-President Colonel Burr twice applied for an appointment to some prominent office, "some mark of favor from me," Jefferson says in his diary, "that would declare to the world that he retired from the vice presidency with my confidence," but his request was denied "in many words but with the usual courtesies." In the daily journal of the President these two interviews are reported in great detail, and with caustic comments. Whereupon Colonel Burr joined the enemies of the President and attempted to prevent his reëlection. "I was advised from day to day," Jefferson says, "of the progress of their alliance by Gideon Granger, who had opportunities for searching into their proceedings."

The apparent indifference of President Jefferson to the Burr conspiracy, when all the rest of the country was alarmed and excited, has never been

explained, and probably never will be. He made light of it in his message to Congress and in his private correspondence, although his diary shows that it was the subject of serious consideration in the Cabinet and that early steps were taken to have Burr followed and watched. Jefferson compared Burr to Don Quixote, but when the crisis came the President discovered to his chagrin and alarm that his bitterest enemies were to be the chief actors in the great historic drama enacted in the courts at Richmond. The relentless Randolph of Roanoke was foreman of the Grand Jury, and nobody hated Jefferson more than he; John Marshall, who was even more formidable as an enemy, although not so vicious and vindictive, was the presiding judge, and Jefferson had reason to believe that they intended to force him into the attitude of an attorney for the defence.

There is no evidence that the President had sympathy with or knowledge of Burr's plans, but he had unconsciously promoted them by the assignment of General Wilkinson, the general-in-chief of the army, and Burr's most intimate friend, to the governorship of the new Louisiana Territory in defiance of his own well known opposition to the union of civil and military authority. What possessed him to select a soldier for the ruler of the new Territory can only be conjectured, and one cannot easily understand why his abhorrence of nepotism did not prevent him from appointing Burr's brother-in-law as secretary of the new government and his step-son to be judge of the principal court at New Orleans. Marshall and Randolph were thus easily able to connect Jefferson's appointees with Burr, and there is little doubt of their desire to entrap the President himself in the conspiracy, just as the then Secretary of the

Treasury endeavored to involve President Grant in the frauds of the Whiskey Ring in 1876. Upon the application of John Randolph, Justice Marshall issued a subpœna requiring the attendance of the President of the United States as a witness for the prosecution, and they proposed by cross-examination to extort from him admissions that would cause his political ruin. Jefferson refused to obey the summons, shielding himself behind his prerogative as President, and holding that the Constitution made the three coördinate branches of the government independent of each other. A careful study of the incidents and circumstances connected with the case does not increase one's respect either for Jefferson, Randolph, or for Marshall, but politics were very bitter and politicians had very bad manners in those days.

Within a few years an examination of the archives of the Foreign Offices of London, Madrid, and Paris has disclosed unpublished correspondence with their representatives in Washington during the Jefferson administration which throws a great deal of light upon the Burr conspiracy and leaves no doubt of his treason. It also shows that the diplomatic agents of Great Britain, France, and Spain, while enjoying the hospitality of this government, did not hesitate to encourage a conspiracy among our own people for the destruction of the Union. As early as 1804, within a month after his duel with Hamilton, and while he was still Vice-President of the United States, Burr disclosed his scheme to Merry, the British minister, and the latter submitted it in detail to his government with a proposal from the Vice-President that Great Britain should employ him to effect a separation between her former colonies and the Louisiana Territory recently purchased

from France. Merry sent Colonel Williamson, an officer of the British army, to London to lay the details before the ministry, which was expected to provide half a million dollars in money towards Burr's expenses and to send a fleet to the Mississippi to coöperate with his land forces.

The British ministry at first was inclined to entertain the proposal, but, having more important business on hand, postponed its consideration from time to time, until after a year of waiting Burr tried to quicken the interest of England by entering into negotiations with the French and Spanish governments, with which England was then at war. Merry commends Burr as possessing, "in a much greater degree than any other individual in this country, all the talents, energy, intrepidity and firmness required for such an enterprise," but intimated a doubt as to whether "strict confidence" could be placed in him.

Having lost his patience with the British, Burr opened negotiations with the Spaniards through ex-Senator Dayton, of New Jersey. Yrujo, the Spanish minister, advanced Dayton several thousand dollars and forwarded Burr's plans to Madrid with a favorable endorsement, but his government was not enticed into the plot to recover the territory it had traded away, and gave Yrujo no encouragement. Nor did it furnish him any more funds for Burr's benefit. The latter then appealed to General Turreau, the French minister, who at that time was endeavoring to secure a recognition of the political rights of the French residents in Louisiana. Burr, being aware of their discontent, endeavored to enlist them in his cause through the French minister, but the latter does not seem to have gone any farther than to keep Talleyrand fully posted as to his movements and intentions.

It was also disclosed that Wilkinson, the general of the army, with whom Burr had confidential relations, and who was shielded by Jefferson to the best of his ability, had been drawing a salary of two thousand dollars a year from the Spanish government for several years as compensation for secret information furnished the agents of the king concerning the military condition and plans of the United States.

Jefferson's habitual inconsistency is shown in his references to Andrew Jackson. In 1823 he wrote Andrew Jackson: "I recall with pleasure the remembrance of our joint labor while in Senate together in times of great trial and hard battling. Battles, indeed, of words, not of blood, as those you have since fought so much for your own glory and that of your country."

Then he said to Daniel Webster: "I feel very much alarmed at the prospect of seeing General Jackson President. He is one of the most unfit men I know of for such a place. He has very little respect for the laws and constitution, and is, in fact, an able military chief. His passions are terrible. When I was President of the Senate he was a Senator, and he could never speak on account of the rashness of his feelings. I have seen him attempt it repeatedly, and as often choke with rage. His passions are no doubt cooler now; he has been much tried since I knew him, but he is a dangerous man."

The intimacy between Jefferson and John Adams extended over half a century, beginning at Philadelphia, where they met as colleagues in the Continental Congress, and ending only when the Angel of Death called them both on the same day, July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of their joint composition, the Declaration of In-

dependence. Their correspondence would fill a large volume. They wrote long essays at each other upon topics of every sort, exchanging views and criticisms of men and affairs, both foreign and domestic, in a solemn, monotonous manner; and while they seldom agreed upon the details of any proposition, it was evident that each was fully convinced of his own wisdom and rectitude. They were born in different atmospheres, educated in different schools, and were accustomed to different codes of morals and different modes of thought. What would have been political food to one was political poison to the other. They were as far apart by birth and training as any two men in the thirteen colonies, and had little in common except their egotism and verbosity.

There were intervals in their friendship,—intervals of doubt, distrust, and resentment,—but the attraction was too great, and the positive and negative poles sooner or later must resume the current of communication. While they were in Europe as plenipotentiaries Jefferson and the Adamses exchanged visits between London and Paris, and Mrs. Adams chats about him in her home letters with a grateful appreciation of his talents and worth. She says, "He is one of the choice ones of the earth," and it is an interesting fact that her friendship for him never faltered even when he and Adams were at odds, and it was her tact that restored their relations after the most serious quarrel of their lives.

Jefferson once expressed the opinion that "Mr. Adams was honest as a politician as well as a man; Hamilton was honest as a man, but as a politician he believed in the necessity of either force or corruption to govern man." Hamilton held that Julius Cæsar was the greatest man that ever lived;

Jefferson replied that Bacon, Newton, and Locke in his opinion were greater, and Adams agreed with him.

In the days when Jefferson was Secretary of State it was customary for public men to write for the newspapers over assumed names. Hamilton's contributions to the *Federalist,* like those of John Adams, originally appeared over a fictitious signature. Adams, while Vice-President, wrote a series of political discourses signed "Davila." These were attacked by Thomas Paine in his "Rights of Man," originally published in England. A copy was sent to Jefferson, with the request that, after reading it, he would hand it to some printer, so that it might be republished for circulation in the United States. This he did with a note commending the author and his writings, which was intended to be confidential, but it was published as an introduction to the volume and brought down upon him the universal condemnation of the religious people of the country as well as the Federalists. Among his critics was an anonymous writer who signed himself "Publicola." Jefferson wrote Adams to explain the blunder by which his endorsement of the "Rights of Man" was published, and spoke with bitter contempt of "Publicola" as a mischief-maker. Unfortunately, "Publicola" was no other than John Quincy Adams, a son of the Vice-President, whose family felt great pride in his controversial abilities, so that Jefferson's second letter on the subject was worse than the first, and caused a temporary suspension of their relations.

Adams understood Jefferson as Jefferson understood him, and in 1797, when they came to Philadelphia as President and Vice-President elect, the shrewd old Yankee promptly and carefully ex-

terminated all germs of hope that Jefferson might have nourished about sharing the honors and responsibilities of the government. As Adams must have suspected, the latter had made plans in that direction before he left Monticello, and attempted to win the confidence of the new President by playing upon his jealous and suspicious egotism. In a letter worthy of Mephisto himself he intimated to Adams that "your arch friend in New York," meaning Hamilton, "intends mischief." Adams made no reply. He was too old a bird to be caught in that kind of a trap. Jefferson called upon him immediately upon his arrival in Philadelphia. Adams returned the visit the next day, and expressed his gratification at finding the Vice-President alone, as he desired a "free conversation" with him, of which we have Jefferson's version. Suspicious of each other, the two shrewd politicians sparred for awhile, and then the President tempted his colleague with an offer to return to his former diplomatic post at Paris. We can only infer his desire to banish so active and dangerous a rival from the country; but Jefferson showed no inclination to go into exile, and they exchanged regrets that circumstances should prohibit the country from enjoying the benefits of Jefferson's diplomacy. As he could not realize what he said was "the first wish of his heart" (which was to get rid of Jefferson), the President suggested that Madison and Gerry,—the most useful and important lieutenants of Jefferson,—ought to be sent as commissioners, to which the latter promptly assented.

What occurred in the meantime has never been explained, but three days later, while walking home from a dinner at General Washington's, the President-elect explained, "with excuses which evidently

embarrassed him," that "objections which he had not contemplated had been raised," and that it would be inexpedient to nominate Jefferson's friends. "He never after that said one word to me on the subject," writes the Vice-President, "or ever again consulted me as to any measure of the government."

Just before the expiration of the Seventh Congress in 1801 an act was passed creating a number of new district and circuit courts. Adams, anticipating the opportunity, selected the judges from among his friends and political supporters, and had their commissions prepared before he approved the law. It was then the practice for Congress to adjourn at midnight on the third instead of at noon on the fourth of March as at present, and the official authority of the President expired at the same moment. Jefferson, being aware of the greed of Adams for patronage, and of his intention to appoint the judges, gave his watch to Levi Lincoln, who had been selected for his Cabinet, and told him to take possession of the office of the Secretary of State as the hands pointed to midnight. Obeying instructions, Lincoln interrupted Chief-Justice Marshall, who had been Secretary of State, in the act of attesting the commissions of the new judges with the great seal of state. A few had been completed, but the greater part lacked the seal. Lincoln entered Judge Marshall's office without warning and said,—

"I have been ordered by President Jefferson to take possession of this department and its papers."

"Mr. Jefferson has not yet qualified as President," exclaimed the astonished Chief-Justice.

"Nevertheless, he considers himself an executor or trustee, and instructs me to take charge of the

archives of this department until he is duly qualified."

"But it is not yet twelve o'clock," said Judge Marshall, taking out his watch.

"This is the President's watch and rules the hour," said Lincoln

Judge Marshall carried away with him the commissions that were completed, and the men who received them were afterwards known as "Adams's midnight judges."

Adams was mortified because he was not allowed a second term in the Presidency, like Washington, and attributed his rejection to the intrigues of Jefferson, rather than to the dissatisfaction of the country with his administration and his own blunders. So great was his disappointment that he refused to remain in Washington for the inauguration of his successor, but left the White House in a carriage for Baltimore not long after the encounter between Levi Lincoln and John Marshall. Jefferson construed Adams's undignified departure as a childish attempt to humiliate him, and considered the appointment of the "midnight judges" an infringement of his prerogatives and an invasion of his authority as President, and for several years he and Adams were bitterly hostile, although he continued to correspond with Mrs. Adams in the most friendly manner. On the other hand Adams was offended with Jefferson because of the removal of his son, John Quincy, from one of the federal offices in Boston. Jefferson afterwards explained that he would not have removed the son had he known of the relationship. A reconciliation was brought about by Dr. Benjamin Rush, for which Jefferson was prepared by a sympathetic letter from Mrs. Adams after the death of his daughter, Mrs. Eppes.

The letter of Dr. Rush to Adams urging the reconciliation is one of the most eloquent appeals that can be imagined. He says: "Fellow laborers in erecting the fabric of American liberty and independence; fellow sufferers in the calumnies and falsehoods of party rage; fellow heirs of the gratitude and affection of posterity; and fellow passengers in the same stage which must soon convey you both into the presence of the Judge with whom forgiveness and the love of your enemies is the condition of his acceptance, embrace, embrace each other,—bedew your letters of reconciliation with tears of affection and joy."

Jefferson and Adams resumed their correspondence and friendly relations, and they lasted until their death, which occurred on the same day. Some of Jefferson's partisans refused to ratify the reconciliation, and when one of his most ardent worshippers was informed that Adams died almost at the same hour as Jefferson, he exclaimed in a passion that "it was a damned Yankee trick."

Jefferson undoubtedly had a sincere and honest respect for Washington. He once remarked that "Washington errs as other men do, but errs with integrity." But the passion and the impatience of a partisan, because of Washington's friendship with his political enemies, led him to say privately to friends what he would not have uttered publicly. He evidently underestimated Washington's intellectual ability, and continually imposed upon his good-nature. The President's patience and forbearance were extraordinary. He must have had profound confidence in Jefferson's integrity and ability to have tolerated him so long. There is no similar instance in the history of the government. Lincoln's patience was sorely tried at times by the members of his official family and Cabinet feuds

have been frequent, but no other President has ever endured with such saintly toleration trials equal to those which Jefferson imposed upon Washington.

Jefferson is usually conceded to be the shrewdest politician this country has ever produced, and he resorted to measures which would not be tolerated by this generation. His personal correspondence and the confidential diary which he kept under the title of "Anas" prove that he used underhand methods and was commonly engaged in intrigue not only against his colleagues in the Cabinet, but even against Washington, whose loyalty and confidence in him were complete. He has been accused of "shielding himself like a coward behind a clerk in his department who was allowed to publicly assail the character as well as the conduct of Washington," but it really required more courage for Jefferson to sustain Freneau under the circumstances than to discharge him. Furthermore, he freely accused his official associates of treason. He openly charged Hamilton with conspiracy to overthrow the republic and set up a monarchy. He declared that Hamilton's influence in Congress was obtained by bribery and corruption by the use of government funds and bonds. No other President in the long list of American rulers would have submitted to such audacity, for Jefferson was anything but a coward. But Washington confided in his loyalty and admired his ability, and his personal affection was never impaired, although their relations were those of the merest courtesy after Jefferson's retirement from the Cabinet.

An adventurer named Freneau, a man of eccentric experience, a poet, a sea-captain, and the editor of a local paper, was appointed by Jefferson a translator in the Department of State at a salary

of two hundred and fifty dollars a year upon the recommendation of Madison, who had been his classmate at Princeton College. The appointment was made with the understanding that Freneau's paper was to become the organ of the Republican party, and writing Madison, Jefferson says that he intended to give him "the perusal of all my letters of foreign intelligence and all the foreign newspapers, the publication of all proclamations and other public notices that are in my department, and the printing of the laws which, added to his salary, would have been considerable aid."

Freneau appears to have known what was expected of him, for his paper immediately began a series of most vigorous and vicious assaults upon the administration. His scurrilous abuse of Hamilton and disrespectful references to Washington as a man, as well as the President of the United States, created profound indignation among all fair-minded people, but Jefferson stubbornly refused to rebuke Freneau or remove him from office. Finally the quarrel with Hamilton reached a crisis. Hoping to bring about a reconciliation, Washington appealed to each of them in an affectionate personal letter. Hamilton answered in a dignified and courteous manner and a conciliatory disposition, but with much feeling. Jefferson's reply was insulting and inexcusable. He defended his own conduct and charged Hamilton with corruption, conspiracy, and treason, with intentions to overthrow the government and establish a monarchy, with corrupting Congress by the use of the public funds, with dealing out valuable Treasury secrets among his friends, and with appointing the relatives and friends of Senators, Representatives, and newspaper editors in order to secure their favor and support. Such a letter, written

by a member of the Cabinet to the President concerning one of his colleagues, would be impossible at this day, and it shows the depth of Jefferson's malice and meanness; yet Washington, out of respect for Jefferson's abilities and patriotism, overlooked the insult and allowed him to remain in the Cabinet. Jefferson rewarded him by permitting Freneau to continue his insults and indignities upon Washington's character and motives, to accuse him of debauching the country, with seeking a crown, and with "passing himself off as an honest man." Washington told Jefferson one day, and Jefferson notes the fact in his diary, that he could see in Freneau's conduct "nothing but an impudent design to insult him." There is another entry in Jefferson's journal which reads: "He [Washington] adverted to a piece in Freneau's paper of yesterday. He was evidently sore and warm, and I took his intention to be that I should interpose in some way with Freneau, perhaps withdraw his appointment of translating clerk to my office. But I will not do it."

Jefferson's own lips and pen furnish the evidence to convict him of these atrocious attacks upon his friend and benefactor, President Washington, but it is a question of veracity between his creature, Freneau, and himself as to which actually penned the insults to the President. While Jefferson was still in the Cabinet, Freneau went before the Mayor of Philadelphia and took an oath that the Secretary of State was not responsible either directly or indirectly for the contemptible articles that had been published concerning the President, but later in life confessed that he made this affidavit to protect his employer and patron, that Jefferson either wrote or dictated many of them, and furnished a file of his paper with the articles

marked which Jefferson had written. A careful comparison of these articles with other productions of Jefferson's pen show the unmistakable similarity in literary style and forms of expression, but these disclosures did not seem to have affected public opinion concerning the morals or the manners of Jefferson. The *Federalist* made the most of them, and the Republicans defended Jefferson with energy and loyalty.

While the Jay treaty with Great Britain was under debate in the Senate Jefferson wrote a letter to an Italian friend named Mazzei who occupied an adjoining plantation in Virginia, but who at that moment was in Europe attempting to negotiate a loan for the United States with a petty prince of Hungary. This letter mainly related to private affairs, but concluded with a review of the political situation, and charged Washington, the Senate, and the Supreme Court with aristocratic and monarchical tendencies, and with betraying their country under British inducements. It was intemperate, partisan, unjust, and untrue, but, like other letters which gave him so much trouble to explain, was intended to be confidential. In some way, however, it was published in an Italian paper, reproduced in France, and translated from the French for the New York press, where it was denounced as treasonable, and Jefferson was called upon to admit the authorship or repudiate it.

It was one of the strangest things in his life that he held his peace under the attack. Never before had he avoided a newspaper controversy, but he must have realized what shame and contempt would follow an acknowledgment of the authorship and was therefore afraid to face it. Later, however, he wrote Madison admitting that he had written the letter, but explaining that his

original thoughts had been mangled and misrepresented by the various translators through whose hands it had passed. At the same time he declined to avow the letter because "it would be impossible for me to explain this publicly without bringing on a personal difference between General Washington and myself which nothing before the publication of this letter has ever done. It would embroil me also with all those with whom his character is still popular, that is to say, nine tenths of the people in the United States." In his old age the story was revived by Timothy Pickering, and Jefferson again boldly denied the authorship. Washington always believed that Jefferson wrote the letter, and it caused a breach between them that was never healed. From that time they ceased all correspondence and intercourse, and in a letter to John Nicholas he expressed his belief that Jefferson was insincere in his friendships.

That Jefferson was willing to subordinate his personal feelings to his public duty, and that he was not entirely disloyal to Washington, is illustrated by the incident of Citizen Genet, the French minister, who was the cause of the most embarrassing crisis during the Presidency of Washington. In 1778, during the darkest days of the Revolution, the United States made a treaty of alliance with France, without which it is doubtful whether the colonies could have achieved their independence. In 1793 France declared war against Great Britain, and called upon the United States to redeem the pledges of that treaty. Assuming that we would furnish the same aid to the French that they had furnished to us fifteen years before, Citizen Genet began to buy arms, enlist men, and fit out privateers in this country, thus provoking a protest from the British govern-

ment. The crisis became acute. The Cabinet as well as the public were divided in opinion, there being a strong public sympathy for France. Hamilton, Randolph, General Knox, and other conservative men took the ground that the treaty of 1778 was made with the King of France, who was our best friend among all the rulers of Europe, and not with the bloodthirsty and irresponsible leaders of the Revolution who had murdered him and overthrown his government. They argued that the French republic had repudiated all the acts of the monarchy and that the treaty, having been executed with the monarchy, terminated when the latter was overthrown. The people of the United States were under no obligation to the leaders of the French Revolution, and could have no part or lot with such atheists, anarchists, and assassins. Furthermore, their war against England was aggressive and unjust. Jefferson and his supporters, who were earnest in their sympathy with the Revolution, held that the treaty was still in force, and that a change of government from a monarchy to a republic in France only made the moral obligation more binding upon the United States.

Washington was equal to the occasion. Deaf to the pleadings of his Secretary of State in behalf of France, he instructed Attorney-General Randolph, who had kept a cool head, to draw up a proclamation of neutrality, which Foster, in his "Century of American Diplomacy," declares has "had a greater influence in moulding international law than any other single document of the last hundred years, and has been taken as a model by all other nations." It was a simple announcement of the neutrality of the United States, and admonished all citizens to observe it. In private

letters Jefferson denounced the proclamation, but in his public papers he declared that it was based upon correct principles of international law, and made a clear and forcible defence of the attitude of the administration.

Jefferson was provoked because he was not selected to draw the neutrality proclamation, but in the long and frequent Cabinet discussions he had shown such ardent sympathy with the French and M. Genet, their audacious representative, that Washington would not trust him, and committed the important task to Edmund Randolph, whose views coincided with his own. Jefferson in his chagrin wrote Madison, "I dare say you will have judged from the pusillanimity of the proclamation from whose pen it came." He continued privately to defend and encourage Genet in his mischief, and wrote Madison again, "It is impossible for anything to be more affectionate, more magnanimous than the purport of his mission. He offers everything and asks nothing."

However, under the direction of the President Jefferson was obliged to inform Genet that his conduct was intolerable. It was a disagreeable duty reluctantly performed. He wrote a plain and manly note, which Genet ignored so contemptuously that Jefferson's indignation was aroused, and when Genet actually insulted Washington by declaring publicly that he would appeal from the President to the people, and would not obey the President until the people had confirmed his action, Jefferson dealt with him in a patriotic and determined manner. Genet thereupon turned against Jefferson, charging him with duplicity by giving him encouragement in private and censuring him in public. Genet did not return to France, but remained in New York, took out naturalization

papers, and married the daughter of Governor De Witt Clinton, afterwards Vice-President.

Jefferson's clerk, Freneau, continued to attack Washington's motives in his paper, accusing him of debauching the country and scheming to be king. This made Washington very angry, but Jefferson still declined to dismiss Freneau, and was himself compelled to resign from the Cabinet. He was succeeded as Secretary of State by Edmund Randolph, whom he had so severely criticised.

In May, 1792, he had promised to resign in the following January, but when January came, much to the disappointment of the President, he reconsidered his purpose and remained at the head of the State Department for the reason, as he explained, that he would not give his enemies the right to say that they had driven him out of office. Washington offered him the French mission in February, but Jefferson insisted upon retaining his anomalous relation, and did not resign until the following December. In the meantime the frequent, bitter controversies at the Cabinet meetings continued, where, he says, he and Hamilton "were always pitted against each other like two game cocks." General Knox, the Secretary of War, always sided with Hamilton. Randolph, the Attorney-General, a Virginian, was sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. Jefferson, with grim humor, said that the Cabinet stood two and a half to one and a half,—Hamilton and Knox on one side, himself on the other, and Randolph on both sides. "He gives his principles to one party and his practice to the other; the oyster to one and the shell to the other."

Jefferson did not object to opposition. "In fact," he said, "the world runs by friction. Men

of energy, of character, must always have enemies. Dr. Franklin had many enemies, as every character must with decision enough to have opinions. In public life, a man whose political principles have any decided character, and who has energy enough to give them effect, must always expect to encounter political hostility from those of adverse principles."

While Secretary of State Jefferson kept a diary of incidents and gossip, which is referred to elsewhere, setting down an abstract of the transactions of each Cabinet meeting and reports concerning politics and politicians which he had heard during each day. It is voluminous, and one wonders how a man of his many occupations, cares, and responsibilities could have devoted so much time to such apparently useless labor. It was no doubt intended for future campaign purposes, because it covers minutely the record of Hamilton's actions and conversations, even the most trivial gossip. After his retirement he revised the manuscript, prepared a long and virtuous introduction, and left it with his other papers, evidently expecting it to be published. That such a record, intended to belittle his colleagues and grossly violating the confidence of Washington, as well as the proprieties of his own position, should be made a part of history aroused indignant remonstrances. It will always be a cloud upon his integrity of purpose; and, as is always the case, his spitefulness towards them injured him more than it injured Hamilton or Washington.

The authorship of that "Immortal Document," the Farewell Address of President Washington, which is one of the stateliest examples of English composition, has been ascribed to Hamilton, Jefferson, and Adams. General Washington was

neither an orator nor a writer, although he expressed himself with a simple directness that is often more forcible and convincing than the most florid eloquence. According to Jefferson, the Farewell Address, delivered to Congress at Annapolis, was a composite of contributions from several sources. In a letter to Judge Johnson of South Carolina shortly before his death he offered this explanation:

"With respect to his [Washington's] Farewell Address, to the authorship of which it seems there are conflicting claims, I can state you some facts. He had determined to decline a re-election at the end of his first term, and so far determined that he requested Mr. Madison to prepare for him something valedictory, to be addressed to his constituents on his retirement. This was done, but he was finally persuaded to acquiesce in a second election, to which no one more strenuously pressed him than myself, from a conviction of the importance of strengthening, by longer habit, the respect necessary for that office, which the weight of his character only could effect. When, at the end of his second term, his Valedictory came out, Mr. Madison recognized in it several passages of his draught; several others, we were both satisfied, were from the pen of Hamilton; and others from that of the President himself. These he probably put into the hands of Hamilton to form into a whole, and hence it may all appear in Hamilton's handwriting, as if it were all of his composition."

Jefferson says in one of his letters that "Politeness seems to have been invented to enable people who would naturally fall out to live together in peace," and it was that which kept Jefferson and Hamilton on friendly terms with one another for

many months after both discovered that they differed on every leading question.

Jefferson made a bargain with Hamilton, then his friend and colleague in the Cabinet, but soon after his bitterest enemy, to locate the capital of the Nation on the banks of the Potomac, but it was not long before he regretted his part in the transaction and pretended that he had been used as a cat's-paw by his colleague. The Assumption Bill, so called, providing that the General Government should assume the war debts of the several States, amounting to about ten million dollars, was then the most exciting topic before Congress, and there was intense bitterness between the opposing parties, which were of almost equal strength. The Southern States expended little money during the war. The Northern States expended a great deal in the equipment of troops and the purchase of supplies. Therefore the Southern members of Congress were indifferent while those from the North were imperative in supporting the bill. The subject of second interest was the location of the capital city. The Northern representatives favored a location near Germantown, Pennsylvania; the Southern members a site on the Potomac.

Jefferson, who had just returned from five-years' absence in France, was not committed to either project. Hamilton, being aware of this, induced him to invite several of the most conciliatory Southerners to dine at his house, and at that dinner a trade was arranged. Two of the Virginia members voted for the Assumption Bill, and two of the Pennsylvania members voted for the location of the capital on the Potomac River opposite Georgetown, with a proviso that the seat of government should remain at Philadelphia for ten years.

A few months later, having discovered the intense unpopularity of the Assumption proposition in the Southern States, where the war debts were small, Jefferson regretted his participation and accused Hamilton of trickery. Then began the quarrel which lasted a life-time. Jefferson, however, had no cause to complain. He was not the novice in politics or legislation that he represented himself to be. He was aware of the bitterness of the contest. His letters to Monroe, Gilmer, and others at the time are complete evidence that he fully understood what he was doing, and that the only deception in the matter was his own misconception of public sentiment in the South. He endeavored unfairly to place the blame of his own mistake upon others, and to represent himself as a guileless victim of a wicked conspirator. Nor was he candid with Hamilton. He continued to show a friendly disposition and confidence while he was denouncing him privately to his friends.

IX

FOUNDER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

JEFFERSON considered the University of Virginia the greatest triumph and the proudest achievement of his life, and measured its influence upon the generations that were to come after him as more important and effective for good than any other that might arise from all of his public services. The institution was the dream of his youth, and throughout his busy life, filled with cares, responsibilities, and labor, his fidelity to the idea kept his mind always ready to grasp and utilize any opportunity which might promote its fulfilment.

His desire was accomplished after a long struggle and the exercise of remarkable patience and perseverance. He met with stubborn opposition from the very people it was intended to benefit, and although the Legislature of Virginia has made reasonable grants of aid from time to time, the institution has been kept alive and its influence extended by the generosity of people outside of that State. A glance at the list of endowments and gifts of money that have been made both before and since the war ought to be mortifying to every citizen of Virginia and the other Southern States. But for the munificence of Northern friends Jefferson's great monument and his greatest gift to the American people would long ago have perished.

Since its organization the institution has received gifts and endowments to the amount of

APPROACH TO THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

(Designed by Thomas Jefferson)

LIBRARY
OF THE
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CALIFORNIA

$1,393,100, of which $1,038,000 was contributed by people living north of the Potomac River; $207,600 by people living south of the Potomac River, and $135,500 by general contributors from different parts of the country who cannot be located. The most generous benefactors have been Mr. Arthur W. Austin, of Dedham, Massachusetts ($470,000); D. B. Fayerweather, of New York ($250,000); W. W. Corcoran, of Washington ($106,000); Leander J. McCormick, of Chicago ($68,000); Louis Brooks, of Rochester, New York ($68,000); Mrs. Linden Kent, of Washington ($55,000), and Charles Broadway Rouse, of New York ($35,000). The only man in the South who has given any considerable sum of money to the institution was the late Samuel Miller, of Campbell County, Virginia. He endowed a department of scientific and practical agriculture with the sum of $100,000. None of these benefactors were graduates in the institution.

The University of Virginia has been and still is the most popular and influential educational institution in the South. It has a larger alumni than any other. Many of the prominent men in the Southern States were educated there; as a rule, it has had more graduates in the Senate and House of Representatives than any other institution in the country, more than Yale or Harvard or Princeton. But the people of Virginia have done little for it. They have treated Jefferson as they have treated the rest of the famous sons of the State, permitting their monuments to be erected by admirers in other parts of the country.

Although the Father of Democracy, Jefferson was the first conspicuous advocate in this country of centralization in education, being a thorough believer in state aid to higher institutions of learn-

ing and free education in the common schools supported by local taxation. To him the schoolhouse was the fountain-head of happiness, prosperity, and good government, and education was "a holy cause:"

"(1) To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business;

"(2) To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts, in writing;

"(3) To improve, by reading, his morals and faculties;

"(4) To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either;

"(5) To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor and judgement;

"(6) And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed."

He was an advocate of practical learning, and, when appointed a visitor to William and Mary College in 1779, endeavored to lop off the dead branches that hindered, as he thought, its useful operation. He caused the grammar-school to be abolished and the two professorships of divinity and Hebrew to be suppressed. In place of these he made provision for the instruction of the students in chemistry, natural history, anatomy, medicine, law, modern languages, the fine arts, justice, and the laws of nations.

Jefferson's educational plan, which he prepared for the State of Virginia, was comprehensive. It provided first for elementary schools in every

county, " which will place every householder within three miles of a school; district schools which will place every father within a day's ride of a college where he may dispose of his son; a university in a healthy and central situation. In the elementary schools will be taught reading, writing, common arithmetic, and general notions of geography. In the second, ancient and modern languages, etc., mensuration and the elementary principles of navigation, and in the third, all the useful sciences in their highest degree."

He laid off every county into districts five or six miles square, called " hundreds," the teacher to be supported by the people within that limit; every family to send their children free for three years, and as much longer as they pleased, provided they paid for it; these schools to be under the charge of " a visitor, who is annually to select the boy of the best genius in the school, whose parents are too poor to give him an education, and send him to a grammar school," of which twenty were to be erected in different parts of Virginia; " and of the boys in each grammar school the best is to be selected to be sent to the University free of cost."

Jefferson's first idea of a university for Virginia was to transform his venerable alma mater, William and Mary College, which was under the care of the church, into a non-sectarian State institution, and in 1795 he corresponded with Washington on the subject. He also asked Washington's coöperation in bringing the faculty of the Calvinistic Seminary of Geneva en masse to the United States, and proposed the plan to the Legislature. It was considered too grand and expensive an enterprise for the feeble colony, and Washington's practical mind questioned the expediency of im-

porting a body of foreign theologians and scholars who were not familiar with the language or the customs of the people. Jefferson then suggested the faculty of the University of Edinburgh, but similar objections were heard from every direction, and the plan was reluctantly abandoned.

Washington had proposed a national university, had reserved for it a site in the new federal district, and had provided in his will for the nucleus of an endowment by setting aside the shares he owned in a corporation called the Potomac Company, which were then profitable, but soon after his death lost their value. Jefferson endorsed the scheme in a message to Congress in 1806, while he was President. Washington was equally generous towards a new college established at Lexington and called by his name, now known as Washington and Lee University. With these two institutions in his mind, it was not to be expected that he would enter heartily into Jefferson's plan for a third, although it does not appear that he ever offered opposition or threw obstacles in Jefferson's way.

Jefferson reluctantly gave up his plan of importing a ready-made university, but continued to discuss the necessity of a State institution with a view of educating the public and securing the support and coöperation of influential friends. He showed greater persistence and tenacity towards this than towards any other project of his life. It became his favorite hobby, and he never failed to bring it to the attention of foreign visitors with whom he had intercourse during his official life and after his retirement. He studied European institutions with great care, their systems of education, their plans of government, their architecture, their methods of conferring honors and de-

grees, until perhaps no one on either continent became so familiar with the subject. He found a zealous coadjutor in Joseph C. Cabell, a wealthy and cultured Virginian, who had travelled extensively in Europe, had spent some years at the German universities, and was familiar with those of England and France. By the urgent advice of Jefferson he became a member of the Legislature of Virginia and was reëlected to that body for twenty years, chiefly to champion Jefferson's three great ideas, popular education, free local schools, and a State university.

In 1814 Cabell introduced a bill, which became a law, chartering an academy for Albemarle County, the funds to be raised by lottery. Jefferson was made chairman of the board of trustees. A site was selected where the University of Virginia now stands, but the project went no farther.

Two years later the Legislature passed an act providing that " certain escheats, penalties and forfeitures" imposed by the courts should be devoted to the encouragement of learning, and Jefferson's keen scent saw in it the possibility of endowment for a State institution. He attempted to secure the funds for the proposed Albemarle Academy, but met with determined opposition from William and Mary College, from Washington College at Lexington, and from the churches, which were opposed to non-sectarian education. Jefferson endeavored to arrange a compromise under which either of the two existing institutions might be transformed into a State university, but their denominational trustees would not surrender them, and his fixed convictions could not tolerate the idea of ecclesiastical influence in higher education.

It was slow work raising funds for Albemarle Academy. Those who did not belong to the church

were poor, and orthodox churchmen would not contribute to any institution that was not endorsed by the clergy. Furthermore, the name localized the academy and prevented Jefferson from securing assistance outside of the county. Hence he had the charter rights transferred to "Central College," an institution to be established under the care of the State, with a board of trustees consisting of Jefferson, Madison (then President), Monroe (then Secretary of State), J. C. Cabell, his representative in the Legislature, and other sympathetic friends. With the money contributed to Albemarle Academy he purchased two hundred acres of land, "high, dry, open, furnished with good water, and nothing in the vicinity which could threaten the health of the students," one mile from Charlottesville, and the price paid was fifteen hundred and eighteen dollars and seventy-five cents. The University of Virginia now stands upon that land. Subscriptions to the amount of forty-four thousand dollars were obtained, each of the trustees subscribing one thousand dollars. Jefferson produced architectural designs upon which he had been constantly engaged since his retirement from the Presidency. They were an adaptation of mediæval cloistered retreats. The buildings were to surround three sides of a quadrangle. The two arms were to consist of dormitories opening upon covered colonnades for the accommodation of the students, with two-story houses at equal intervals for the use of the professors; while the central side was to be occupied by an imposing structure with a dome to contain the recitation-rooms, the library, and the offices of administration. It was the same plan that was afterwards carried out with greater elaboration. The corner-stone of the first building was laid on

October 6, 1817, by James Monroe, then President of the United States.

Jefferson's persistent advocacy of a State university had made the idea so popular, and had so impressed the people with the necessity of such an institution, that the Legislature in 1818 passed an act appointing a board of commissioners to report a plan and select a site, and appropriating fifteen thousand dollars as the first instalment. Jefferson hurried the work upon "Central College," so as to strengthen the claim of that institution, and appeared in its behalf before the commissioners, who met in "a low ceiled, white washed room" in a tavern at Rock-Fish Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains in August, 1818. It was a memorable gathering. The President of the United States, Monroe, and two ex-Presidents, Jefferson and Madison, were there, zealously lobbying in the interests of their young institution. Three locations were proposed,—Lexington, Staunton, and Charlottesville. Jefferson, then seventy-five years old, made the argument in behalf of Charlottesville, and demonstrated by a map that it was the centre of population. When the ballot was taken Charlottesville received sixteen, Lexington three, and Staunton two votes. The decision was made unanimous and Jefferson was authorized to draw the report, which recommended:

1. The recognition of Central College as a State university.

2. The adoption of his plan of buildings called "an academical village."

3. An elective course of study, described in detail, covering five years.

4. General provisions for the government of the students, for discipline, tuition, board, lodgings, degrees, prizes, etc.

This report was an elaboration of the ideas which Mr. Jefferson had been advocating all his life; the formulation of the information, observation, experience, and reflection of forty years, and the University of Virginia to-day is the practical embodiment of these recommendations.

The report was well received by the Legislature, but met with determined opposition from the Episcopal and other clergy of the State, from rival colleges, and from Jefferson's personal enemies and political opponents, who realized the depth of his interest in the project and the fact that his life and happiness were wrapped up in the result. Cabell stood as its defender and advocate, and when the act was finally passed, on January 25, 1819, he dropped from exhaustion, and never recovered his strength.

The property of Central College was conveyed to a board of trustees representing the State. Thomas Jefferson was appointed Rector of the new institution, and henceforth he was able to carry out his plans unhampered, except by poverty. Not only did he devise the entire system of instruction, but every feature of administration and construction, drawing the plans and specifications, making the estimates of cost and the contracts for construction, and personally superintending the work. When his increasing infirmities prevented him from going to the grounds he watched the builders from Monticello through a telescope, which is sacredly preserved in the library of the University. The superintendent reported to him at the close of every day the minutest details, which were carefully recorded in his own handwriting. He educated masons, bricklayers, and carpenters to do the work; he designed tools for them to use; taught them how to cover roofs with tin and

to sprinkle coarse sand in their paint so as to give the woodwork the appearance of stone; and when he could find no one in Virginia competent to chisel the capitals of the marble columns he imported sculptors from Italy.

His thought and labor for this institution, and the obstacles he had to overcome in procuring the necessary funds, served to distract his thoughts in a measure from his own pecuniary embarrassments, which so embittered the closing years of his life.

Edward Bacon, his overseer, tells how the buildings for "Central College" were begun. In his reminiscences he says: "My instruction was to get ten able bodied hands to commence the work. I soon got them and Mr. Jefferson started from Monticello to lay off the foundation, and see the work commenced. An Irishman named Dinsmore and I went along with him. As we passed through Charlottesville, I went to old Davy Isaac's store, and got a ball of twine, and Dinsmore found some shingles and made some pegs, and we all went on to the old field together. Mr. Jefferson looked over the ground for some time and then stuck down a peg. He stuck the very first peg in that building, and then directed me where to carry the line, and I stuck the second. He carried one end of the line and I the other in laying off the foundation of the University. He had a little rule in his pocket that he always carried with him, and with this he measured off the ground, and laid off the entire foundation, and then set the men at work.

"After the foundation was nearly completed, they had a great time laying the corner stone. The old field was covered with carriages and people. There was an immense crowd there. Mr.

Monroe laid the corner stone. He was President at that time. Mr. Jefferson,—poor old man, I can see his white head just as he stood there and looked on. After this he rode there from Monticello every day while the University was building, unless the weather was very stormy. He looked after all the materials and would not allow any poor materials to go into the building if he could help it. He took as much pains in seeing that everything was done right as if it had been his own house."

Jefferson continued his personal supervision to the end of his days and kept the records of the institution with great detail, notwithstanding his age and an infirm wrist, which had been fractured. The last entry included the minutes of a meeting of the Board of Visitors only a few days before his death. For a man who wrote so much he was a marvellous penman. Every page is neat, every letter plainly and perfectly formed, so that his writing is as easy to read as print, and up to the last shows a firmness and regularity quite as marked as the pages he wrote in early manhood.

His original intention was to use in the buildings nothing but Virginia stone, but when he found that it was not adapted for fine carving he brought marble from Carrara. There is nothing to be seen, there is scarcely anything to be heard, and very few ideas can be suggested at the University of Virginia that did not spring from Jefferson's fertile and comprehensive mind. His architectural designs, however, were not original. Most of them were copied by his own hand or that of his granddaughter from a picture-book, "The Architecture of A. Palladio," well known to students in that branch of art. It contains engravings of classic models of the five orders

RESIDENCE OF A PROFESSOR, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

(Designed by Thomas Jefferson)

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIV TY

of architecture, with " the most necessary observations," by Giacomo Leoni, a Venetian, and " Notes and Remarks of Inigo Jones, now first taken from his Original Manuscript in Worcester College Library, Oxford." Jefferson appears to have given the volume careful study for years, and reproduced among the buildings of the University those features of architecture among its illustrations which to his taste were the purest and most beautiful examples of the classic period,—the theatre of Marcellus, the baths of Diocletian and Caracalla, the temple of Fortuna Virilis,—and for the central figure of the composition he reconstructed the Roman Pantheon, the temple of all the gods, reduced to one-third of its original size, but still majestic and imposing.

The curves of the dome, when extended to the ground, describe an exact circle, and in symmetry and simplicity he esteemed it the noblest expression of human construction. In selecting this model for the library Jefferson desired to keep constantly before the eyes of the students an object-lesson that would elevate their taste and appeal to the highest sense of the artistic.

These buildings are grouped around a quadrangle one thousand feet in length by five hundred feet in width, the library lifting its noble form at one end, and a group of new Ionic buildings at the other, erected recently to take the place of those which were destroyed by fire in 1895. The three sides of the quadrangle are lined with porticoes extending from the buildings twenty feet or more and sustained by rows of white pillars. They resemble the cloisters of an ancient monastery. The students occupy monkish cells, entered from the arcade and lighted from the rear, while at intervals the sameness is broken by a two-story

structure, with a bold, bald front, in which a professor resides. The ground slopes just enough to enable the landscape gardener to make a series of terraces upon the lawn, and the magnificent shade-trees, luxuriant shrubbery, and the quaint serpentine fences of brick combine to make a picture more classic, attractive, and novel than can be found in any other American town.

The buildings furnish a striking contrast to the ugly, square-cornered, many-windowed, factory-like dormitories and recitation-halls found upon the campus of the ordinary college in the North. The leanness of their endowments and the demand for educational accommodations tempted their trustees, no doubt, to buy as many brick and partition off as many rooms as they could with the money, without a thought of the esthetic. But Jefferson had an ideal,—the result of years of inquiry and contemplation,—and he endeavored to combine and carry out in the University of Virginia an intellectual, political, and moral development, and the cultivation of an artistic taste among his countrymen. As a consequence one finds at that institution imposing architectural effects, a curriculum which embraces all branches of human knowledge, and a code of rules which recognizes that boys as well as men are capable of self-government and are controlled by the instincts of honor.

Several buildings have been added to the scholastic colony since his day, but the original group as planned by him still remains the most notable example in the United States of the classic school of architecture. The gymnasium is detached and stands some distance from the library; the chapel is a Gothic structure, entirely out of harmony with the rest of the buildings, and looks as if it were guilty of an unwarranted intrusion.

GLIMPSE OF DORMITORIES, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

(Designed by Thomas Jefferson)

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA

Running in parallel lines with the long sides of the quadrangle are low dormitories and other buildings for the accommodation of literary societies and the professors, all connected by colonnades; so that it is possible to visit nine-tenths of the University, including the professors' residences, without passing from under the roofs.

James Monroe used to live in a house on a little hill just outside the quadrangle, but his mansion was burned some years ago, and the site is now occupied by a dormitory. His law office is preserved as he left it.

The motto of the University, selected by Jefferson, is "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." The central idea is "freedom." Jefferson seems to have had that word in his mind continually. "I have sworn," he said, "upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man," and in framing the organization of this institution he introduced every form of freedom that could be applied. The members of the faculty are free to exercise their own judgment within their jurisdiction. The University of Virginia is the only institution of its kind in this country without a president. For convenience in transacting business the faculty elect a chairman from among its own members and appoint committees to look after the various interests of the institution. But so long as he attends properly to his duties and satisfies the requirements of the Board of Visitors each professor is at the head of an independent school and can arrange the work and prescribe the instruction of his students.

At the same time the student is free in selecting his studies. There is no prescribed course. He can follow any line of learning he likes. He is

free to go and come as pleases him best, but he must be a gentleman and learn enough to pass his examinations before can get a degree. He is free from all espionage by the faculty. There is no compulsory attendance at chapel or elsewhere. The rules require from every student "decorous, sober and upright conduct as long as he remains a member of the university, whether he be within its precincts or not." "If in the opinion of the faculty any student be not fulfilling the purposes for which he ought to have come, the faculty may require him to withdraw after informing him of the objections to his conduct and affording him an opportunity of explanation and defense." "Drunkenness, gambling, and dissoluteness, profane language, extravagant habits, visiting bar rooms or gaming tables, the use or possession of fire arms, the contraction of debts, the introduction or the use of intoxicating drinks within the precincts of the university," are absolutely forbidden because they are not considered proper habits for a gentleman, and the University of Virginia is intended exclusively for that class of society.

What is known as "the honor system" has always prevailed. The faculty assumes that every student is an honorable and a truthful man. Most of the discipline is left to the students themselves. The University is a little republic where self-government prevails and personal honor is sacred. The spirit of manliness makes every student careful of his own and his comrades's behavior. When a boy shows a lack of self-respect or violates the proprieties to such an extent as to unfit him to be an associate for honorable young men, it seldom requires the intervention of the faculty to separate him from the institution. The students look after that themselves.

X

JEFFERSON AS A POLITICIAN AND "JEFFERSONIAN PRINCIPLES"

We are accustomed to being told by authors and orators that Thomas Jefferson was the ablest politician this country has thus far produced, and, judged by the standards of his generation, that is doubtless true. It is common to say and to believe that Washington was the greatest soldier, Marshall the ablest jurist, Henry the most eloquent orator, Webster and Clay the most convincing debaters this country has produced, yet there are giants in these days also whose proportions would be enlarged by the perspective of a century but are diminished by familiarity. It is of course impossible to say whether Grant or Sherman possessed the untiring patience of Washington and could have led to victory the undisciplined troops of the Continental army; but the Justices of the Supreme Court to-day will tell you that the late Joseph P. Bradley was the most profound scholar that ever graced the American bench, and that Samuel F. Miller's mind was in every respect equal to Marshall's; Senators will contend that Conkling, Blaine, Thurman, Edmunds, Hoar, and Harrison could have met the ablest debaters of early times on even terms; that Beecher, Ingersoll, and Wendell Phillips had tongues as eloquent as Patrick Henry's; and that Abraham Lincoln, Samuel J. Tilden, and others who might be named were as sagacious in political affairs as was

Thomas Jefferson. Changing conditions make exact measurements impossible and random comparison unfair. There are embryo Washingtons and Jeffersons, Lincolns and Grants, in the villages of Virginia and the cities of the country awaiting development as their services may be required by their fellow-men. There was never an emergency but some one arose to meet it, and Websters, Blaines, Grants, Bradleys, and Tildens are moving among the multitudes to-day,—as many as mankind will ever need,—unmindful of their power, unconscious of their destiny. Not long ago after a young lawyer from Chicago made his first appearance before the Supreme Court the Chief-Justice remarked: "If that argument had been delivered a century ago it would have given him a national reputation. To-day it will pass unnoticed except by his clients and the court." As the world grows wider the stature of its leaders must enlarge. As the horizon extends the power of vision must increase. There are men living to-day who, inspired by the same motives and guided by the same principles, might have fulfilled the destiny of Jefferson as ably and successfully as he, but the ability, industry, and learning he possessed would command a foremost place in any race or generation.

Conscious of his own moral, intellectual, and political power, impressed with the accuracy of his own convictions and the patriotism of his motives, Jefferson endeavored to assume leadership in whatever field of activity he found himself engaged. His vivid individuality, self-reliance, and vast fund of information usually compelled submission, and when others would not yield he became restless and discontented. He believed that his theories of government were so founded in

eternal truth that success and popularity must naturally attend him as their advocate and expounder. He was egotistical and confident because he had convinced himself that he was a genuine and successful benefactor of mankind,—the teacher of a great gospel that, like the Sermon on the Mount, embodied all the science of government and human morality.

In the early days of his prominence in public affairs Jefferson was not a party man. "If I could not go to Heaven but with a party I would not go there at all," he said, and he accused the Federalists of trying to divide the people into factions; but soon afterwards became an intense partisan. He recognized the advantage of organization to promote political principles, and finally concluded that parties were not only necessary but beneficial in watching each other, provoking agitation, discussion, and interest in public affairs.

He conceived the plan, which Mr. Bryan attempted a century later, of running party lines on what he called "a natural division between the aristocracy and the common people. Whatever occurs in any nation in the way of politics must be followed by such a division of interest," he said. "These divisions have existed in all countries by whatever name they might be called." "Men are divided into two parties by their constitutions; . . . those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of a higher class, and second, those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe although not the most wise depositary of the public interest."

"In every free and deliberating society," said Jefferson while he was Vice-President, "there

must from the nature of man be opposite parties and violent dissentions and discords, and one of these for the most part must prevail over the other for a longer or a shorter time. Perhaps this party division is necessary to induce each to watch and relate to the people the proceedings of the other. But, if on the temporary superiority of one party, the other is to resort to a scission of the union, no federal government can ever exist.

"Seeing therefore that an association of men who will not quarrel with each other, is a thing which never yet existed, from the greatest confederacy of nations down to a town meeting or a vestry, seeing that we must have somebody to quarrel with, I had rather keep our New England associates for that purpose, than to see our bickerings transferred to others. They are circumscribed within such narrow limits and their population is so full, that their numbers will ever be the minority, and they are marked like the Jews with such a peculiarity of character as to constitute from that circumstance the natural division of our party. A little patience and we shall see the reign of witches pass over, their spells dissolved and the people recovering their true sight, restore the government to its true principle."

While he was Secretary of State these lines were drawn, much to the anxiety of Washington, who was a man of benevolent disposition, and foresaw danger to the republic in the partisanship that was being developed in the minds of those around him. It soon became intense, much more so than at any time since, and in 1797, the second year of his Vice-Presidency, we find Jefferson complaining of the situation he had aided to create. He wrote Edward Rutledge: "You and I have seen warm debates and high political passions.

But gentlemen of different politics would then speak to each other, and separate the business of the Senate from that of society. It is not so now. Men who have been intimate all their lives, cross the streets to avoid meeting, and turn their heads another way, lest they should be obliged to touch their hats. This may do for young men with whom passion is enjoyment, but it is afflicting to peaceable minds." And to his daughter he said: "When I look to the ineffable pleasure of my family society, I become more and more disgusted with the jealousies, the hatred, and the rancorous and malignant passions of this scene, and lament my having ever again been drawn into public view. Tranquility is now my object. I have seen enough of political honors to know that they are but splendid torments."

In his day there were no political committees, or clubs; no primaries; no caucuses; no nominating conventions; no campaign funds. Discussions were carried on in the weekly newspapers and by the publication of pamphlets, and in forming a great political party Jefferson was furnished with a mass of fresh, pliant material that had never before been subjected to such influence as he exercised, and submitted readily to his purpose. There had been no permanent division of the people on the line of political opinion. Washington had twice been unanimously elected to the Presidency. His personal influence, which was greater than any other man ever exerted over a community, had determined the choice of his successor. But in that campaign public sentiment began to crystallize upon questions of policy and administration; the quarrels between Jefferson and Hamilton had become notorious and the partisans of each were increasing in number and earnestness. People were

already participating in their disputes as to the proper form of government for the new republic; and it was natural for those who thought alike to seek a leader who could instruct and direct them.

The Federalists formed the first party, the original political organization in this country after the inauguration of the government, and were represented by Washington, Adams, Hamilton, and others who did not believe that the masses were fit for self-government. They held the offices and the authority, and when Jefferson retired from the Cabinet of Washington in 1793, it was natural that he, with his aggressive disposition, great learning, advanced ideas, profound convictions, wide experience, and personal popularity should assume leadership, and by corresponding with friends and acquaintances throughout the country unite and organize those who were opposed to the monarchical tendencies of the aristocracy, the wealth, the commercial class, the clergy, and the conservative element of the population,—for it was thus that the Democratic party of the United States came into existence.

With an adroitness that marked all his political movements, Jefferson coined the captivating title "Republican" to designate his adherents. He soon discovered a better term, more appropriate to their principles, more pleasing to the class he desired to enlist under his banner; hence, after a time, he began to refer to them as Democratic-Republicans, and finally, as that title was too cumbersome, he dropped the original name and the hyphen, transformed the adjective into a noun, and henceforth they were Democrats,—the advocates and defenders of democracy, a government of the people.

The movement had not acquired sufficient impetus to be seriously felt in the Presidential campaign of 1796, which, as has been said, was practically determined by the personal preference of Washington, although, had Jefferson's followers at that early day realized their own strength, he would have been the second President instead of John Adams. As it happened, Adams had a majority of only three votes in the electoral college, which might have been easily overcome in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, where the electors were chosen by popular vote without instructions or pledges. One elector in each of the three States took advantage of the liberty allowed him to cast his ballot for Adams instead of Jefferson, who was entitled to it as the popular choice. We do not know what influences were exerted, what inducements were offered, or what penalties were suffered by the culprits, because the newspapers of those days do not allude to the matter, and only incidental references appear in the correspondence of public men. It is strange that Jefferson, with his habit of keeping diaries and writing to his friends on all subjects of current interest, should have failed to leave posterity an explanation of this interesting incident. A possible but improbable reference to it appears in his diary more than a year later, December 26, 1797, where he records some gossip from a Mr. Langdon about President Adams, "who, gritting his teeth said 'Damn 'em! Damn 'em! Damn 'em! you see that an elective government will not do.' He also tells me that Mr. A in a late conversn said 'Republicanism must be disgraced, Sir.'" At any rate the election of 1796 was the last at which the electors were allowed the free exercise of their judgment. Since then they have been solemnly pledged to

support the candidates of their party in the electoral college.

It surprised and disconcerted John Adams and the other Federalists to find Jefferson in the chair of the Vice-President instead of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, who had been their candidate; for, previous to the amendment of the Constitution in 1803, the person receiving the second number of votes was entitled to the Vice-Presidency.

The partisanship and other blunders of Adams's administration, and the odious legislation of the Federalists, who controlled both branches of Congress, assisted Jefferson in the organization of a new political party to a degree beyond all he could have hoped or wished. His position as presiding officer in the Senate afforded him opportunities for observing the errors of his opponents and ample leisure to take advantage of them, so that when the time for electing a new President approached, the Republicans, as they were then called, were well organized, harmonious, enthusiastic, and confident in all the States. The Federalists appear to have been ignorant or at least indifferent concerning the activity of Jefferson and his followers, and Colonel Hamilton protested in vain against the policy of the President and his party in Congress. The Federalists had never been defeated; they marched under the sacred ægis of Washington; their course was approved by the pulpit and the enlightened press; they enjoyed the sympathy of the college professors and the scholarship and culture of the country; and received the encouragement of the commercial interests. The Federalist was "the gentlemen's party." Jefferson's party was called the rabble,—the mob.

In New England a Democrat had no caste.

Every speculator, scoffer, and atheist; every thief, forger, and burglar, was a follower of Jefferson. John Adams represented the aristocracy, the respectable conservatism—what has often been described as "the better sentiment"—of New England; narrow, bigoted, selfish, and egotistical, but at the same time intellectual, moral, enterprising, and patriotic, devoted to the love of country, kin, and a revealed religion. President Adams did not anticipate the possibility of his defeat for a second term, not even after Aaron Burr carried the State of New York for the Republican candidates and captured the Legislature in the May preceding the Presidential election. Why should John Adams fear the voice of his enemies when an act of Congress authorized him to punish people who wrote or published anything discreditable to the President of the United States by fining them two thousand dollars and sending them to jail for two years? This law, intended for his protection, was one of the chief causes of his defeat.

In 1798 Jefferson feared that New England intended to secede from the Union and return to the allegiance of the king. "We are completely under the saddle of Massachusetts and Connecticut," he wrote, "and they ride us very hard, cruelly insulting our feelings, as well as exhausting our strength and substance. Their natural friends the three other eastern states join them from a sort of family pride, and they have the art to divide certain other parts of the union so as to make use of them to govern the whole. This is not new. It is the old practice of despots to use a part of the people to keep the rest in order, and those who have once got an ascendency and possessed themselves of all the resources of the nation, their revenues and offices, have immense

means for retaining their advantages. But our present situation is not a natural one. The body of our countrymen is substantially republican through every part of the Union. It was the irresistable influence & popularity of Gen. Washington, played off by the cunning of Hamilton, which turned the government over to the anti-republican hands, or turned the republican members, chosen by the people into antirepublicans. He delivered it over to his successor in this state, and very untoward events, since improved with great artifice, have produced on the public mind the impression we see; but still I repeat it, this is not the natural state.

"If to rid ourselves of the present rule of Massachusetts & Connecticut we break the Union, will the evil stop there? Suppose the N. England states alone cut off, will our natures be changed? are we not men still to the south of that, & with all the passions of men? Immediately we shall see a Pennsylvania & Virginia party arise in the residuary confederacy, and the public mind will be distracted with the same party spirit. What a game, too, will the one party have in their hands by eternally threatening the other that unless they do so & so, they will join our northern neighbors. If we reduce our Union to Virginia & N. Carolina, immediately the conflict will be established between the representatives of these two States, and they will end by breaking into their simple units."

The first National Convention to nominate a Presidential ticket was held at Baltimore in 1835. Until that year the candidates were selected by a caucus of Congressmen. Sometimes nominations were made by the Legislatures of the States. In 1800 no caucus or convention was necessary be-

cause the contestants and the issues were selected by the people, who realized that the time had come to determine the destiny of the new republic. Jefferson's busy pen had framed the indictment upon which the Federalist government was to be tried, and he appeared as the attorney for the people to conduct the prosecution. John Adams, representing the aristocracy, the learning, the wealth of the country, who were responsible for the government during the first fifteen years of its existence, was the defendant, and the population of sixteen States sat on the jury.

The Congressional caucuses selected Aaron Burr and Charles C. Pinckney as candidates for Vice-President on their respective tickets, but under the elective system of the day the person having the second largest number of votes was entitled to that office, regardless of his politics. A popular misunderstanding of this law produced a situation that was both dramatic and embarrassing. Adams, the Federalist candidate for President, was defeated, but Jefferson, and Burr, his candidate for Vice-President, received an equal number of votes. No one had named Colonel Burr for the Presidency. No ballot had been intentionally cast for him as a candidate for that office. He had not even been an aspirant for the honor. He had been named for the Vice-Presidency at Jefferson's suggestion because of his brilliant victory over the New York Federalists in a State campaign; and the possibility of his coming before the electoral college as a rival of his chief does not seem to have occurred to anybody until the startling fact appeared. Colonel Burr understood the situation and could have relieved it by a frank and manly acknowledgment, but preferred to take advantage of the accident and compete for the prize

with his chief before Congress, which was then the electoral college as well as the legislative branch of the government.

The Federalists and other enemies of Jefferson did not lose the opportunity to make mischief, and played with Burr's unholy ambition to the extent of their ability. It cannot be said that Colonel Burr was an active participant in the conspiracy to defeat the popular will, and it is undoubtedly true, as claimed by his defenders, that he refused to enter into a bargain with the Federalists to retain their friends in office as the price of their support. Jefferson himself gives Burr credit for resisting that temptation, but the latter remained silent and in seclusion a long distance from Washington and allowed himself to be used as a passive tool of the opposition to defeat the purpose of his own party. The dead-lock continued for seven days, until on the thirty-sixth ballot Jefferson received the votes of ten States and Burr those of four. The votes of two States were blank.

During the election in Congress Jefferson seems to have occupied his mind in the study of natural history and other sciences, for we find him writing to his friends upon such subjects as the bones of the mammoth, the effect of cold on human happiness, the influence of the moon upon the weather, the temperature of moonbeams, the nativity of the turkey, the cause of circles around the moon, and the narrow range of the Indian vocabulary.

That he was tempted by his opponents with offers of compromise we know, because five years later he notes that " while the Presidential election was in suspense in Congress . . coming out of the Senate chamber one day, I found Gouverneur Morris on the steps. He stopped me and began

a conversation on the strange and portentous state of things then existing, and went on to observe that the reasons why a minority of States was so opposed to my being elected were that they apprehended that I would turn all Federalists out of office; 2 put down the navy; 3 wipe out the public debt; 4——[part of the page is torn out]. That I only need to declare or authorize my friends to declare that I would not take these steps, and instantly the election would be fixed."

Jefferson told Morris that he would make no terms and "would never go into office of president by capitulation nor with my hands tied by any conditions which should keep me from persuing the measures which I should deem for the public good."

About the same time, he says, a similar suggestion was made to him by President Adams, to whom he replied that "the world must judge as to myself of the future by the past," and turned the conversation to another topic. Again, during the dead-lock, Dwight Foster, of Massachusetts, "called at my room one night, and went into a long conversation on the state of affairs, the drift of which was to let me understand that the fears above mentioned were the only obstacles to my election, to all of which I avoided giving any answer one way or the other."

For months prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century the newspapers, both Federalist and Republican, had been engaged in heated discussions of the issues of the pending Presidential campaign; yet so meagre were the facilities for the transmission of news that the most enterprising paper in Philadelphia was not able to announce the official result of the election until the morning of February 20, three days after it had been declared

in Washington, and then only in two brief paragraphs. Two days later the same brief announcement was made in the New York papers. The following appeared in the Philadelphia *Aurora* of February 20, 1801:

"THOMAS JEFFERSON—PRESIDENT,
AND
"AARON BURR—VICE PRESIDENT.

"BALTIMORE, February 17.—An express from General Smith arrived in the city at three-quarters past seven this evening, announcing the election of Mr. Jefferson. I have seen the letter; you may depend on the information to be correct. The cannon are now firing. I. WRIGHT."

A second announcement in the *Aurora* contained a thrust at the defeated Federalists in the closing paragraph:

"FROM WASHINGTON.

"FEBRUARY 18, 1801.—Yesterday, precisely at twelve o'clock, the election of Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr was announced by the firing of the cannon in the arsenal by the artillery company commanded by Capt. Chaw.

"Yesterday the bells at Christ church kept constantly tolling for the death of the British faction in this country. Requiescat in pace. Amen!"

During the dead-lock in Congress Joseph Cooper Nicholson, of Maryland, was dangerously ill and attended by physicians, who feared that the exposure and excitement might be fatal to him, but was carried to the Capitol. A bed was prepared for him in one of the anterooms, where his heroic wife attended him during five days and nights of balloting. Supported by stimulants, with great difficulty he feebly traced the name of Jefferson upon a slip of paper when the ballot-box was passed around. Nicholson survived and afterwards sat as presiding judge of the Baltimore Court of Appeals. Mrs. Nicholson was a sister of the wife

of Francis Scott Key, author of the "Star-Spangled Banner."

It was one of the strangest as well as one of the most dramatic incidents in history that Alexander Hamilton should have been the chief instrument to assist Jefferson in reaching the summit of his ambition,—the Presidency of the United States. During the dead-lock Hamilton exercised his powerful authority over several Federalists in Congress, and finally persuaded two members from Maryland and one from Delaware (the grandfather of the late Secretary Bayard) to cast blank ballots and the member from Vermont to remain away. Thus Jefferson was elected "without any change of votes," as he afterwards declared with gratification. It was not because Hamilton had more faith in Jefferson, but because he had less faith in Burr, for whom he had acquired a positive abhorrence. He knew that Jefferson was loyal. He felt that Burr was not, and future events demonstrated the sagacity of his judgment. It was Burr's resentment of Hamilton's intervention in this contest that led him to seize upon a trivial pretext to force Hamilton into the duel which followed soon after.

Jefferson observed the exciting contest in Congress over the Presidency with composure, and from his conversation and correspondence one would suppose him to have been the most disinterested man in Washington. Indeed, there is very little in his manuscripts referring to this most critical crisis of his career. During the campaign preceding the Presidential election Jefferson withdrew to Monticello and refused to take an active part in the canvass. "I cease from this time," he wrote John Taylor under date of November 26, 1799, "to write political letters, knowing that

a campaign of slander is now to open upon me, and believing that the postmasters will lend their inquisitorial aid to fish out any new matter of slandery they can to gratify the powers that be. I hope my friends will understand and approve the matter motives of my silence." While the excitement over the dead-lock was at its height, he wrote his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, as follows: "I do sincerely wish to be the second on that vote rather than the first. The considerations which induce this preference are solid, whether viewed with relation to interest, happiness or reputation. Ambition is long since dead in my mind, yet even a well weighed ambition would take the same side. My new threshing machine will be tried this week. P. Carr is on the point of marriage. All are well here and join in the hope of your continuing so."

On February 12, 1801, the second day of the dead-lock, he writes in his diary: "Edward Livingston tells me that Bayard [Representative from Delaware] applied to-day or last night to Gen. Samuel Smith [Representative from Maryland] and represented to him the expediency of his coming over to the States who vote for Burr, that there was nothing in the way of appointments which he might not command, and particularly mentioned the Secretaryship of the Navy [to which office Smith's brother was afterwards appointed by Jefferson]. Smith asked him if he was authorized to make the offer. He said he was authorized. Smith told this to Livingston and to W. C. Nicolas [Representative from Virginia] who confirms it to me. Bayard in like manner tempted Livingston not by offering any particular office, but, by representing to him his L's intimacy and connection with Burr, that from

him he had everything to expect, if he would come over to him. To Dr. Linn of N. Jersey they have offered the government of N. Jersey. See a paragraph in Martin's Baltimore paper of February 10 signed a looker on; stating an intimacy of views between Harper and Burr."

There is no entry in the diary for February 13, but on February 14, about the middle of the contest, this appears: "Genl Armstrong tells me that Gouvernr Morris in conversation with him today on the scene which is passing expressed himself thus. How comes it, sais he, that Burr, who is 400 miles off at Albany has agents here at work with great activity, while Mr. Jefferson, who is on the spot does nothing. This explains the ambiguous conduct of himself and his nephew Lewis Morris, and that they are holding themselves free for a prize, i.e. some office, either for the uncle or nephew."

Two days later, February 16: "See in the Wilmington Mirror of Feb 14 Mr. Bayard's elaborate argument to prove that the common law, as modified by the laws of the respective states at the epoch of the ratificn of the constn, attached to the courts of the U. S."

Here the diary was dropped until March 8, 1801, four days after the inauguration, when Jefferson begins a continuous memoranda, mostly about office seekers.

To understand Jefferson's position as leader and teacher of the Democratic party, one must realize the bitter hostility to him and the distrust of the Federalists, and particularly the bankers, merchants, and men of property throughout the new Union. The Federalist newspapers and orators had represented him as a monster whose appetite for blood had not been satiated during the French

Revolution, and they demanded the exercise of the authority of the government to prevent him from exciting the people to excesses similar to those committed by his friends and admirers in France. Even Fisher Ames, the most brilliant orator and one of the ablest and fairest Federalists in all New England, told the people that Jefferson belonged to the "sans culottes," and predicted that the democracy he advocated would be governed by vice and folly. Ames saw "the dismal glare of the burnings;" he heard "the clank of chains and the whispers of assassins," "the barbarous dissonance of mingled rage and triumph in the yell of an infuriated mob," and scented "the loathsome steam of human victims offered in sacrifice." His days, he said, were "heavy with the pressure of anxiety, and our nights restless with visions of horror." "What has happened in France," he declared, "must sooner or later happen in America if a democratic government was established, for this is ordained for democracy." And as a sample of the published opinions of the Federalist press we have a paragraph from Dennie's *Portfolio,* which reads: "A democracy is scarcely tolerable at any period of national history. Its omens are always sinister, and its powers are unpropitious. It is on trial here [this was in 1803] and the issue will be civil war, desolation and anarchy. No wise man but discerns its imperfections; no good man but shudders at its miseries; no honest man but proclaims its frauds; and no brave man but draws his sword against its force."

Jefferson was a man of high ideals, and he was often embarrassed by the apparent inconsistency between his professions and his practices. When one first reads the confidential note-book which

he called his "Anas" it is almost impossible to resist the inclination to question his integrity. These odious records of malicious gossip, accepted from all sorts of irresponsible sources, and set down as truth, show that he either had a craving for scandal or that his credulity was greater than his intelligence. With the training of a lawyer and a skilful analyst of the motives of men, he could not have believed his own statements, and must have foreseen that their publication, which he deliberately planned, would damage his own reputation even more than the men he slandered. One of his own biographers has said that "the writing of the Anas was one of the meanest acts recorded by history," and that "they impaired his own good name more than all the other mistakes of his life and all the assaults of his enemies." He proved the truth of the saying of a wise man that "It is not what others say of one, but what one says himself that does him the greater injury."

The facts seem to be that with all his intellectual ability and learning, all his wit and penetration, all his subtle skill as a politician, all his experience and knowledge of men, all his pure and deep convictions of liberty and justice, Jefferson had a low opinion of mankind. He watched with mistrust all who differed from him; he suspected the honesty of their motives and was ready to accept as true all the evil reports that came to him concerning them.

His belief in the sublime doctrine of civil and religious liberty was so deeply imbedded in his nature that he was always alert to detect and resist scepticism in men who were not so enthusiastic as himself. His suspicious disposition saw a conspiracy in every conference of his political opponents, and the measures they proposed were plots against his

cherished institutions. Their opposition to his plans was easily magnified into a conspiracy against the rights of the people for whose defence and protection he assumed responsibility, until he became a monomaniac upon the subject of monarchy, and even accused Washington of treason. There seems to be no doubt that his suspicions were sincere. His ceaseless reiteration of the treasonable designs of the Federalists must have convinced him of the accuracy of his own imagination, as many people come to believe a fiction they have themselves invented after repeating it a few times as a fact. Therefore, taking Jefferson's point of view, and considering his intense feeling upon subjects that interested him, one is led to contemplate his "Anas" and other questionable acts with greater charity. He may have been actuated by honorable motives and a zeal in the defence of his country that a century later seems excessive and unnecessary.

His plans of government were acquired from the French revolutionists. He was a profound believer in the accuracy of the popular judgment. "It is rare that public sentiment decides immorally and unwisely," said this sage, who had witnessed the French Revolution, "and the individual who differs from it ought to distrust and re-examine well his own opinions." His experiences during the bloody and furious scenes in France do not seem to have disturbed this confidence, but made him firmer in his faith. He advocated frequent debate,—the discussion of public questions to arouse interest and educate the masses. "The force of public opinion cannot be resisted when permitted to be freely expressed. The agitation it produces must be submitted to. It is necessary to keep the waters

pure." His egotism was surpassed only by his faith in the people. His confidence in them was only exceeded by his confidence in himself. The ancient fallacy that the voice of the people is the voice of God was the fundamental principle in his political creed, even if it were the clamor of a mob; and he was its authorized interpreter. To him the possession of power by others was wrong and its exercise tyranny, because they were not the friends of the people, but the possession and exercise of power by himself was right, because he was actuated by benevolence and considered only the welfare of his fellow-men.

In a letter to Elbridge Gerry in the campaign which ended with his election to the Presidency he explained his political principles as follows:

"I do then, with sincere zeal, wish an inviolable preservation of our Federal Constitution, according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the States.

"I am opposed to monarchizing its features. I am opposed to a president and a Senate for life.

"I am for preserving to the States the powers not yielded by them to the Union, and to the Legislature of the Union its constitutional share of the division of powers.

"I am not for transferring all the powers of the States to the General Government, and all those of that Government to the Executive branch.

"I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt, and not for a multiplication of officers and salaries merely to make partisans.

"I am not for increasing the public debt on the principle that it is a public blessing.

"I am for relying for internal defence on our

militia solely, till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as may protect our coasts and harbors from such depredations as we have experienced.

"I am not for a standing army in time of peace, which may overawe public sentiment; nor for a navy which, by its own expenses and the eternal wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burdens and sink us under them.

"I am for free commerce with all nations; political connections with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment.

"I am not for linking ourselves by new treaties with the quarrels of Europe; entering that field of slaughter to preserve their balance or joining in the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty.

"I am for freedom of religion, and against all manouvres to bring about a legal ascendency of one sect over another; for freedom of the press, and against all violations of the Constitution, to silence by force and not by reason the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their agents.

"And I am for encouraging the progress of science in all its branches and not for raising a hugh and cry against the sacred name of philosophy; or for awing the human mind by stories of raw-head and bloody bones to the distrust of its own visions, and to impose implicitly on that of others to go backwards instead of forwards to look for improvement; to believe that government, religion, morality, and every other science were in the highest perfection in the ages of the darkest ignorance, and that nothing can ever be devised more perfect than what was established by our forefathers.

"To these I will add, that I was a sincere well-wisher to the success of the French Revolution, and still wish it may end in the establishment of a free and well-ordered republic; but I have not been insensible under the atrocious depredations they have committed on our commerce.

"The first object of my heart is my country. In that is embarked my family, my fortunes and my own existence. I have not one farthing of interest, nor one fiber of attachment out of it, nor a single motive of preference of any one nation to another, but in proportion as they are more or less friendly to us. . . . These are my principles."

In his voluminous writings we can ascertain his opinions upon every conceivable subject that occupied the attention of mankind during the period of his life. No public man was ever so free and so frank in declaring his views, although they were frequently modified with passing years and changing circumstances. He does not appear to have been afraid of the charge of inconsistency. He seemed to have felt the truth of the old adage that "A wise man often changes his mind, but a fool never." Hence it is that Jefferson is quoted upon different sides of so many subjects.

For the convenience of those who seek wisdom in his teachings the letters and other writings of Jefferson have been compiled in various forms, including a massive encyclopædia in which his views on a thousand different topics have been extracted from his letters and admirably arranged in alphabetical order like a dictionary. The following are some of the most important of his political maxims, and most of them are as applicable to-day as they were a century ago:

"All authority belongs to the people."

" Republican is the only form of government which is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind."

" I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenues to the discharge of the national debt."

" Frequent elections keep Congress right. The legislative and the executive branches of the government may err, but frequent elections will set them right. A representative government responsible at short periods of elections, produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind."

" Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority is the vital principle of the republic, from which there is no appeal except through force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism."—*First " Inaugural Address."*

He was opposed to continuous service in Congress, and introduced a bill providing that " no person who shall have served two years in Congress shall be capable of serving therein again until he shall have been out of the same one whole year." This was rejected.

Although the great apostle of democracy and the doctrine of equality, Jefferson was in favor of restricted suffrage based upon educational and property qualifications. He commends the constitution of Spain in this respect. " There is one provision which will immortalize its inventors. It is that which, after a certain epoch, disfranchises every citizen who can not read and write. This is new and is a fruitful germ of the improvement of everything good." In the constitution which he prepared for Virginia and which was not adopted because it came to the convention too late, he prescribed a property qualification for voters,

one-fourth of an acre in towns or twenty-five acres of farming land.

He was opposed to the appointment of aliens or foreigners in the consular service. "Native citizens," he said, "on several accounts are preferable to aliens or citizens alien born. They possess our language and know our laws, customs and commerce, give better standing and are more to be relied upon."

He advocated a uniform for consuls, and when Secretary of State allowed them to wear the uniform of the navy, "a deep blue coat with red facings, lining and cuffs, the cuffs slashed, and a standing collar; a red waistcoat, laced or not at the election of the wearer, and blue breeches; yellow buttons, a foul anchor, black cockade and small swords."

Jefferson advocated a constitutional amendment for the election of the President by a direct vote of the people by States. "The ticket having a plurality of the votes of any State to be considered as receiving thereby the vote of the State, and the successful candidate to receive the votes of a majority of the States."

He was much opposed to a third term for the Presidency, and advocated an amendment to the Constitution providing for only one term of seven years.

Jefferson had a very exalted opinion of the veto power and the pardoning power as possessed by the President. He held that a court, believing a law to be constitutional, had a right to pass a sentence because the power was placed in its hands by the Constitution; but the executive, believing a law to be unconstitutional, was bound to prevent its execution because the power and responsibility had been confided to him by the

Constitution. That instrument, he said, in a letter dated September 11, 1804, "meant that its coordinate branches should be checks on each other, but the opinion which gives to the judges the right to decide what laws are constitutional, and what not, not only for themselves in their own sphere of action, but for the legislature and executive also in their spheres, would make the judiciary a despotic branch."

Jefferson differed from President Cleveland in his views of the relation between the President and the Senate. He agreed with President McKinley that members of Congress should be consulted in the distribution of patronage as the representatives of the people, because of their better knowledge of the men, local conditions and circumstances, and the requirements of the offices. He also took the ground that the President had the authority only to "propose" officers to the Senate, and the latter body, by confirming the nominations, not only had equal responsibility but the final exercise of the appointing power. On the other hand, "the Senate," he said, in his opinion upon the powers of that body, "is not supposed by the constitution to be acquainted with the concerns of the executive departments. It was not intended that these should be communicated to them."

Jefferson defeated the plan of allowing members of the Cabinet to attend the sessions of the House and explain legislation. He said that it was an unlawful exercise of influence of the executive over the legislative branch of the government.

He proposed as an article for the Virginia constitution that "The legislative, executive and judicial offices shall be kept forever separate. No person exercising the one shall be capable of appointment to the other, or to either of them."

Jefferson was violent in his opposition to banks of all kinds. Washington called upon the members of his Cabinet for written opinions on the constitutionality of a bill establishing a government bank. Those of Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, and General Knox, the Secretary of War, were in favor of the act. Those of Jefferson, the Secretary of State, and Randolph, the Attorney-General, were against it. Jefferson had written volumes on the subject of currency and finance, and in 1814 he said: "From the establishment of the United States Bank to this day I have preached against the system, and have been sensible that no cure could be hoped in the catastrophy now happening." To another he wrote: "I do not know whether you will recollect how loudly my voice was raised against the establishment of banks from the beginning, but like that of Cassandra it was not listened to. I was set down as a madman by those who have since been victims to them. I little thought, however, I was to suffer by them myself." Originally he was opposed to the issue of paper money by the government. "Interdict forever," he said, "to both state and national government the power of establishing any bank proper," but later he advocated treasury notes bearing interest, as he believed they would soon be withdrawn from circulation "and locked up in private hoards, and would enable the common people to invest their savings." In 1815 to Albert Gallatin he writes, "Put down the banks and if this country can not be carried through the longest war against the most powerful enemy, without ever knowing the want of a dollar, without dependence on the traitorous classes of her citizens, without bearing hard on the resource of the people, or loading the public with an infamous

burden of debt, I know nothing of my countrymen." He advocated the issue of Treasury notes "bottomed on a tax which would redeem them in ten years. This," he said, "would place at our disposal the whole circulating medium of the United States, and a fund of credit sufficient to carry us through anywhere."

In a letter to his son-in-law, while the latter was in Congress, he wrote, "Specie is the most perfect medium because it will preserve its own level, having intrinsic and universal value, it can never die in our hands, and it is the surest resource of reliance in time of war." Again he said, "A great deal of small change is useful in estates, and tends to reduce the prices of small articles." He was also a bimetallist. In 1792 he wrote Alexander Hamilton, "I concur with you in thinking that the union must stand on both metals."

He believed in the distribution of wealth as much as possible. "If the overgrown wealth of an individual be deemed dangerous to the State, the best corrective is the law of equal inheritance to all in equal degree; and the better, as this enforces a law of nature, while extra taxation violates it."

Jefferson was in favor of State and opposed to federal bankruptcy laws. He considered a federal bankruptcy law unconstitutional.

Regarding our foreign relations he said: "I know that it is a maxim with us, and I think it is a wise one, not to entangle ourselves with the affairs of Europe. I am for free commerce with all nations, political connections with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment."

In a letter to President Monroe he said: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with

Cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe."

He was an earnest advocate of a canal across the Isthmus and advocated it in many letters.

"It is not the policy of the government in America to give aid to works of any kind. They let things take their natural course without help or impediment, which is generally the best policy."

Internal improvements was one of his hobbies. "I experience," he said, "great satisfaction at seeing my country proceed to facilitate the intercommunication of its several parts, by opening rivers, canals and roads. How much more rational is this disposal of public money than that of waging war."

"I would propose a constitutional amendment for authority to apply the surplus taxes to objects of internal improvement."

"The fondest wish of my heart ever was that the surplus portion of these taxes, destined for the payment of the revolutionary debt, should, when that object was accomplished, be continued by annual or biennial reenactment and applied, in times of peace, to the improvement of our country by canals, roads and useful institutions, literary or others."

With regard to commercial intercourse with foreign nations Jefferson was theoretically a free-trader. He said: "Perfect and universal free trade is one of the natural rights of man, and is the only sound policy." That was his first choice. His second was: "Free trade with any nation which will reciprocate." Circumstances growing

out of the wars in Europe afterwards made him a moderate protectionist, but the underlying principle in his mind was a broad commercial reciprocity,—laws and treaties, giving and getting commercial concessions wherever they were to our advantage, with retaliation in the form of increased duties and restrictions upon the products of nations which were unfriendly or unjust.

"Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions, or prohibits them altogether," he said, "it may be proper for us to do the same by them; first burdening or excluding those productions which they bring here in competition with our own of the same kind; selecting next such manufactures as we take from them in the greatest quantity, and which at the same time we could the soonest furnish to ourselves or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards as other channels of supply open. Such duties, having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind, may induce the manufacturer to come himself into the states, where cheaper subsistence, equal laws and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may insure him the highest profits from his skill and industry. And here it will be in the power of the state governments to cooperate essentially by opening the resources of encouragement which are under their control, extending them liberally to artists in those particular branches of manufacture for which their soil, climate, population and other circumstances have matured them, and fostering the previous efforts and progress of household manufacture by some patronage suited to the nature of its object, guided by the local information they possess, and guarded against abuse by their presence and at-

tentions. The oppressions on our agriculture, in foreign ports, will thus be made the occasion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and for promoting arts, manufactures and population at home."

"Instead of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties and prohibitions, could it be relieved from all its shackles in all parts of the world, could every country be employed in producing that which nature has best fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with others mutual surpluses for mutual wants, the greatest mass possible would then be produced of those things which contribute to human life and human happiness. Would even a single nation begin with the United States this system of commerce it would be advisable to begin with that nation."

Jefferson's idea was to limit our commerce so far as possible to countries which did not produce what is produced in the United States, and have general reciprocity.

In his message to Congress in 1808 President Jefferson accepted a protective tariff as a result of the "suspension of our foreign commerce produced by the injustice of the belligerent powers and the consequent losses and sacrifices of our citizens." "The situation to which we have just been forced has impelled us to apply a portion of our industry and capital to internal manufactures and improvements. The extent of this conversion is daily increasing, and little doubt remains that the establishments formed and forming, will, under the auspices of cheaper materials and subsistence, the freedom of labors and taxations with us and of protecting duties and prohibitions, become permanent."

He favored the taxation of luxuries. "The reve-

nue on the consumption of foreign articles is paid cheerfully by those who can afford to add foreign luxuries to domestic comforts." "The taxes on imports fall exclusively on the rich."

He was opposed to an excise law to tax everything the people ate or drank. "The excise law is an infernal one," he writes to Madison. "The first error was to admit it by the Constitution."

Jefferson advocated the taxation of exports, particularly rice, indigo, cotton, tobacco, and sugar.

He advocated the abolition of all internal taxes on the theory that "Sound principles of economy will not justify the taxing of the industries of our people."

He was opposed to a duty on books, which he said was a tax on intelligence.

"Our interests will be to throw open the doors of commerce, and to knock off all its shackles, giving perfect freedom to all persons for the vent of whatever they may choose to bring into our ports, and asking the same in theirs."

"Could each country be free to exchange with others mutual surpluses for mutual wants, the greatest mass possible would then be produced of those things which contribute to human life, and human happiness; the numbers of mankind would be increased, and their condition bettered."

"An equilibrium of agriculture, manufactures and commerce is certainly essential to our independence. Manufactures sufficient for our own consumption, of what we raise in raw material and no more. Commerce sufficient to carry the surplus produce of agriculture beyond our own consumption to a market for exchanging it for articles we can not raise (and no more). These are the true limits of manufactures and commerce.

To go beyond them is to increase our dependence on foreign nations and our liability to war. These three important branches of human industry will then grow together and be really handmaids to each other."

"My idea is that we should encourage home manufacturers to the extent of our own consumption of everything of which we raise the raw materials."

Until the purchase of the Louisiana Territory enlarged the national domain, Jefferson was against immigration. "If they [foreigners] come of themselves," he said, "they are entitled to all the rights of citizenship, but I doubt the expediency of inviting them by extraordinary encouragements." He was in favor of liberal naturalization. "Might not the general character and capability of a citizen be safely communicated to every one manifesting a bone fide purpose of embarking his life and fortunes permanently with us?"

Jefferson was dissatisfied because there was no article in the new Constitution "providing clearly and without the aid of sophism, for the restriction of monopolies."

"There is only one passage in President Monroe's message which I disapprove," he wrote, "and which I trust will not be approved by our legislature. It is that which proposes to subject the Indians to our laws without their consent. A little patience and a little money are so rapidly producing their voluntary removal across the Mississippi that I hope this immorality will not be permitted to stain our history." Jefferson's idea was "to intermix the Indians with the white people, and let them become one people." "Incorporating them with us as citizens of the United States," he said; "this is what the natural prog-

ress of things will of course bring on, and it will be better to promote than to retard it."

With regard to the public lands in the new Territory, he opposed their sale, particularly in large tracts, but advocated the policy of disposing of them by auction for not less than one dollar an acre and giving them in payment for military services rendered during the Revolutionary War. He also suggested that wealthy foreigners might be induced to establish colonies, and proposed to give one hundred acres of land for every colonist brought into the country. "A foreigner who brings a settler does more good than if he put into the Treasury five shillings or five pounds. That settler will be worth to the public twenty times as much every year as on our old plan he would have paid in one payment."

Jefferson was strongly in favor of a militia as a nursery for an army, and in his first annual message advocated "the organization of three hundred thousand able bodied men, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six, for offense or defense at any time or at any place where they may be wanted." In a letter to Monroe he advocated compulsory service. "We must train and classify the whole of our male citizens," he said, "and make military instruction a part of collegiate education. We can never be safe until this is done."

"The spirit of this country is totally adverse to a large military force."

"When any one state in the American union refuses obedience to the Confederation to which they have bound themselves the rest have the natural right to compell it to obedience. Should this cause ever arise they will probably coerce by a naval force as being more easy, less dangerous

to liberty, and less likely to produce much bloodshed."

"My plan would be to make the States one as to everything connected with foreign nations, and several as to everything purely domestic."

Jefferson wanted an aristocracy in the United States "founded on education rather than wealth and ancestry."

"I hope that the terms of 'Excellency,' 'Honor,' 'Worship,' 'Esquire' will forever disappear from among us. I wish that of 'Mister' to follow them."

He advocated a law prohibiting speculation in stocks.

"The manners of every nation are the standard of orthodoxy within itself. But the standard being arbitrary, reasonable people allow free toleration for the manners as for the religion of others."

One of Jefferson's peculiar doctrines, afterwards adopted by Henry George, was that one generation of men had no right to bind another, either in a collective or individual capacity. "No man, by natural right," he said in a letter to James Madison, "can oblige the persons who succeed him for the payment of debts contracted by him. What is true of every member of society individually is true of them collectively, since the rights of the whole can be no more than the sum of the rights of the individuals." As a generation of mankind is supposed to be measured by thirty-four years, Jefferson held that no government, and no individual, corporation, or association, "not even the whole nation itself assembled, can validly engage debts beyond what they may pay in their own time, that is to say, within thirty four years of the date of the engagement, or by a different esti-

mate of life in nineteen years." "The principle of spending money to be paid by posterity under the name of funding," he said, "is but swindling futurity on a large scale."

He said in a letter to Madison: "No society can make a perpetual constitution or a perpetual law. The earth belongs to the living generation; they may manage it then and what proceeds from it as they please during their usufruct. They are masters of their persons and consequently may govern them as they please. But persons and property make the sum of the objects of government. The constitution and the laws of their predecessors are extinguished in their natural course with those that gave them being. Every constitution then, and every law naturally expires at the end of thirty four years. If it be enforced longer it is an act of force and not of right."

He considered the alien and sedition laws unconstitutional. "I discharged every person under punishment or prosecution under the sedition law," he said in a letter to John Adams in 1804, "because I considered and now consider that law to be a nullity as absolute and as palpable as if Congress had ordered us to fall down and worship a golden image."

Referring to the practice of lynching, he said, "It is more dangerous that even a guilty person should be punished without the forms of law, than that he should escape."

Referring to the Burr case, he said: "On great occasions every good officer must be ready to risk himself in going beyond the strict line of the law when the public preservation requires it. His motive will be a justification as far as there is any discretion in his ultra legal proceedings, and no indulgence of private feelings."

"Do not be too severe upon the errors of the people by enlightening them. Ignorance is preferable to error, and he is less remote from the truth who believes in nothing, than he who believes in what is wrong."

He was a determined opponent of centralization. "To take from the States all the powers of self government and transfer them to the general and consolidated government without regard to the special delegations and reservations solemnly agreed to in the compact, is not for the peace, happiness or prosperity of these states."

"I wish to see maintained the wholesome distribution of power established by the constitution."

"What has destroyed the liberty and the rights of man in every government which has ever existed under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating all cares and powers into one body."

"It is not by the consolidation or concentration of powers, but by their distribution that good government is effected."

He urges specific appropriations of money by Congress as fastening responsibility upon the executive who was entrusted with its expenditure. For Congress to make general appropriations was a violation of that section of the Constitution which provides that no money shall be withdrawn from the Treasury except in consequence of appropriations made by law.

Like the leaders of the Populist party at the present day, Jefferson was opposed to a permanent judiciary, as he believed the responsibility of judges would be increased if they were elected for four or six years, and this would keep them in touch with the opinions of the people. His opponents replied that such a policy would sub-

ject the courts to the most dangerous and mischievous of all the great variety of influences which could assail them, popular caprice and popular passion, and render them liable to be called to account by mobs for any decision that might happen to be obnoxious.

While President, in 1806, he received a bronze bust of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, which still stands in the hall at Monticello, opposite that of Napoleon. It came through a Mr. Harris, to whom he promptly wrote the following explanation of his views on the subject of gifts: "I had laid down as a law for my conduct in office, and hitherto scrupulously observed, to accept of no present beyond a book, a pamphlet or other curiosity of minor value; but my particular esteem for the character of the Emperor places his image in my mind above the scope of the law. I receive it therefore and shall cherish it with affection."

This gift was the occasion of the interchange of pleasant complimentary letters between the President of the United States and the Czar.

Jefferson was the first great expounder of the doctrine of State-rights. He was the author of the Kentucky resolutions, which proclaimed the nullification policy for the first time in a formal manner, but when, as Mr. Cleveland said, a condition instead of a theory confronted him, he followed the impulse of common sense instead of adhering to political consistency. In defending his course he said: "The legislature, in casting behind them metaphysical subtleties, and risking themselves like faithful servants, must ratify and pay for it, and throw themselves on their country for doing unauthorized what we know they would do for themselves had they been in a situation to do it."

He was opposed to imprisonment for debt. "Neither nature, right or reason subjects the body of men to restraint for debt."

He believed in extradition. "Two neighboring and free governments with laws equally mild and just, would find no difficulty in forming a convention for the interchange of fugitive criminals," he said. "The difference between a free government and a despotic one is indeed great."

He was opposed to all decorations, medals, and other "baubles." He objected to the organization of the Society of Cincinnati, which was composed of the officers of the Revolution, and said: "Let them melt up their eagles, and add the mass to the distributable fund that their descendants may have no temptation to hang them in their buttonholes."

XI

JEFFERSON'S MORALS AND RELIGIOUS VIEWS

JEFFERSON was accused of being an atheist when he was a Unitarian, but, in the state of civilization prevailing in Virginia at that time, one term was quite as odious as the other, and if the law had been enforced against him, he would have been deprived of the custody of his children, publicly whipped every day until he acknowledged the Trinity, and imprisoned until he asked forgiveness of the church for denying that doctrine. When the news of his election as President reached Massachusetts, we are told that some old ladies in pious consternation hid their Bibles in butter-coolers and lowered them into their wells.

Jefferson was a member of the Episcopal church at Charlottesville, which still stands and is attended by some of his descendants. The little congregation first worshipped in the court-house, and he was to be seen there every Sabbath morning, bringing with him a folding chair of his own invention, which was more comfortable than those provided for the congregation. When the people of the parish felt rich enough to build a church he drew the plans with great care, and superintended its construction. He was elected vestryman soon after he became of age, and although he could not take the oath, he never failed to perform the duties while he was at Monticello. He freely gave of his time, money, and ability to promote the religious objects of his neighbors.

He contributed liberally towards the erection of churches in other parts of Virginia, and indignantly denied that he was an atheist. In many letters, public addresses, and official documents he not only admits the existence of a God, but his belief in an overruling Providence, and, as his mind matured, his religion reduced itself to two articles,—a belief in God as a supreme and omnipotent being, and veneration for the character and teachings of Jesus Christ. "An atheist I can never be," he wrote John Adams; "I am a christian, in the only sense Christ wished any one to be,—sincerely attached to his doctrines in preference to all others." While to another he wrote: "Had the doctrines of Jesus been always preached as pure as they came from his lips, the whole civilized world would now have been christened. Had there never been a commentator there never would have been an infidel." And again, in a letter to Samuel Greenhow, written four years after he retired from the Presidency, he says, "There was never a more pure and sublime system of morality delivered to man than is to be found in the four evangelists."

Jefferson's frequent denunciation of the clergy was in the nature of retaliation, for the most bitter, exasperating, and unjustifiable attacks and slanders that were published concerning his private character came from ministers of the gospel. "From the clergy," he said, "I expect no mercy. They crucified their Saviour. The laws of the present day withhold their hands from blood, but lies and slander still remain to them." Again he says: "Ministers and merchants love nobody. In every country and in every age the priest has been hostile to liberty."

These bitter reflections were provoked by the

publication in pamphlet form for campaign purposes of a sermon preached by a prominent clergyman of Connecticut, who accused Jefferson of gross immorality and dishonesty. He was charged with debauching his slave women, swindling widows and orphans, and embezzling trust-funds. Jefferson wrote to a friend in that State, denying the embezzlement story, and explaining that he never had charge of any trust-funds. Aside from a general contradiction he paid no attention to the other charges, which was according to his custom, and it is said that this was the only time he ever took public notice of an attack upon his morals.

He was equally severe in his denunciation of newspapers for reasons similar to those which provoked President Cleveland to make a sweeping denunciation of the press,—a sense of personal injury and resentment for their attacks upon his private character. Although free speech, free thought, and a free press were among the fundamental principles of his political creed, he became so exasperated at one time that he advocated the appointment of government censors, and in a letter to President Washington said: "No government ought to be without censors, and where the press is free no one ever will." In a letter to a friend he said spitefully, "There is nothing true in the newspapers except the advertisements," and again: "The man who never looked into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them. He who reads nothing will get all the great facts, and the details are all false." In 1815, after his retirement from the Presidency, he writes: "I have almost ceased to read the newspapers. Mine often remain in the post office a week or ten days, and are sometimes unasked for. I find more

amusement in the study to which I was always attached, and from which I was dragged by the events of the times in which I happened to have lived."

The chief offender among newspapers was the Richmond *Recorder,* edited by a Scotchman named Callender, who sought an asylum in this country to escape punishment for libels published in England. He was not here long before he was arrested and imprisoned under the sedition act and was one of those whom Jefferson pardoned on the day that he became President. This incident brought him personally to Jefferson's acquaintance, and for a time he proved to be useful to the Democratic leaders as a writer. Jefferson defended and shielded him as long as his patience would permit, and aided him from time to time with loans of money that were never repaid, but was finally compelled to repudiate him, when Callender turned upon his benefactor. It was he who discovered Hamilton's relations with Mrs. Reynolds, and published the story with Jefferson's approval. He afterwards blackmailed Hamilton with evidence he had secured in a dishonest manner. He was the author of several miserable scandals about Washington. He attempted to blackmail Jefferson into making him postmaster at Richmond, but Jefferson had the moral courage to refuse, even though he knew what to expect, and the penalty of his refusal was the publication of a series of the most revolting stories about his private life, which were copied by the Federalist newspapers of the Northern States with what President Cleveland called "ghoulish glee." Some of these stories were based upon local gossip at Charlottesville, and doubtless had a slender vein of truth, a meagre excuse for existence, but Cal-

lender's vulgar and malicious mind magnified and distorted them. Jefferson never stooped to a denial, and his political opponents chose to interpret his silence as an admission of guilt. He was probably no more immoral than Franklin, Washington, Hamilton, and other men of his time. He was neither a St. Anthony nor a Don Juan. Judged by the standard of his generation, his vices were those of a gentleman, and such as did not deprive him of the respect and confidence of the community.

The scandals circulated by the Federalist newspapers were so generally believed that Thomas Moore, the famous Irish poet, accepted them as true, and, visiting the United States during the period of Jefferson's Presidency, wrote some verses of which the following is a sample:

> "The patriot, fresh from Freedom's councils come,
> Now pleas'd, retires to lash his slaves at home;
> Or woo, perhaps, some black Aspasia's charms
> And dream of Freedom in his bondmaid's arms."

This poem may be found in the London edition of the "Poetical Works of Thomas Moore," published in 1853, and is embellished by a foot-note explaining that the President of the United States was referred to.

The local traditions attribute to Jefferson the paternity of a distinguished man of the generation following him who was prominently identified in the development of the West, and whose mother, famous for her beauty and attractions, lived near Monticello. Her husband was a dissolute wretch and abandoned her to the protection of friends. Jefferson looked after her interests, advised her concerning the management of her little property, educated her son, appointed him to office, pushed him into political prominence, furnished him op-

portunities for advancement, and showed an affectionate solicitude for his welfare. It is charitable to suppose that this was due to a friendly rather than a paternal interest.

In early days, and up to a recent period, nearly every mulatto by the name of Jefferson in Albemarle County, and they were numerous, claimed descent from the Sage of Monticello, which gratified their pride but seriously damaged his reputation. Jefferson does not appear to have taken notice of these scandals, except in a single instance. During the campaign of 1804 a respectable mulatto living in Ohio, named Madison Henings, boasted that he was a son of the President and Sally Henings, who was one of his slaves, and Jefferson invoked his carefully kept record of vital statistics at Monticello to prove an alibi. The date of Madison Hening's birth made it impossible for Jefferson to have been his father, and Edward Bacon, the overseer of the plantation, made a statement to a clergyman in which he gave circumstantial evidence to prove Jefferson's innocence.

Jefferson wrote as many proverbs as Solomon, but was quite as careless in observing them. He loved to admonish others, but did not care to be restrained by his own rules. Proverbs are short descriptions of long experience, and it is easier to instruct by precept than by example. He wrote in his youth what he called "A Decalogue of Canons for Observation in Practical Life," which are admirable, and applicable to everybody in all generations:

"1. Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day.

"2. Never trouble another for what you can do yourself.

"3. Never spend your money before you have it.

"4. Never buy what you don't want because it is cheap; it will be dear to you.

"5. Pride costs us more than hunger, thirst or cold.

"6. We never repent of having eaten too little.

"7. Nothing is troublesome that we do willingly.

"8. How much pain have cost us the evils which have never happened.

"9. Take things always by the smooth handle.

"10. When angry, count ten before you speak; if very angry, then a hundred."

While he was Secretary of State he prepared a series of maxims for the edification of his little grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, as follows:

"Good humor is one of the preservatives of our peace and tranquility.

"Politeness is artificial good humor; it covers the natural want of it, and hence, rendering habitual a substitute nearly equivalent to real virtue.

"Never enter into a dispute or an argument with another. I never yet saw an instance of one of two disputants convincing the other by argument.

"It was one of the rules, which above all others made Dr. Franklin the most amiable of men in society, never to contradict anybody.

"Good humor and politeness never introduce into society a question on which they foresee there will be a difference of opinion.

"Be a listener only and endeavor to establish with yourself the habit of silence, specially in politics.

"No good can ever result from any attempt to set one of those fiery zealots to rights, either in fact or principle."

"If you ever find yourself environed with difficult and perplexing circumstances," he once wrote his daughter, "out of which you are at a loss to extricate yourself, do what is right, and be assured that that will extricate you the best out of the worst situation, for you cannot see when you take one step what the next will be. Follow truth, justice and plain dealing, and never fear that they will not lead you out of the labyrinth in the easiest manner possible. In little disputes with your companions give way rather than insist on trifles, for their love and approbation will be worth more to you than the trifle in dispute."

The following are other examples of Jefferson's maxims:

"I never considered a difference of opinion in politics, in religion or in philosophy as a cause for withdrawing from a friend."

"Wealth, title and office are no recommendation to my friendship. On the contrary, great good qualities are requisite to make amends for their having wealth, title and office."

Jefferson's philosophy taught him that "when great evils happen I am in the habit of looking out for what good may arise from them as consolation, for Providence has in fact so established the order of things as that most evils are the means of producing some good."

"The Creator has not thought proper to mark those in the forehead who are of stuff to make good generals. We are first, therefore, to seek them blindfolded, and let them learn the trade at the expense of great losses."

"We can not tell by his plumage whether a cock

is dunghill or game. But with us cowardice and courage wear the same plume."

"There are minds which can be pleased by honors and preferments, but I see nothing in them but envy and enmity. It is only necessary to possess them to know how little they contribute to happiness, or how hostile they are to it." And in a letter to his daughter he said: "I have seen enough of political honors to know that they are but splendid torment."

"The best way to place your guests at their ease is by showing them that we are so ourselves, and that we follow our necessary vocations, instead of fatiguing them by hanging unremittingly on their shoulders."

Jefferson's opinion of European royalty was expressed in a letter to General Washington, in which he said, "I can say with perfect safety that there is not a crowned head in Europe whose talents or merits would entitle him to be elected a vestryman by the people of any parish in America."

His overseer, Edward Bacon, in dictating his recollections of Jefferson to a clergyman said: "He did not use tobacco in any form. He never used a profane word or anything like it. He never played cards. I never saw a card in the house at Monticello, and I had particular orders from him to suppress card playing among the negroes, who, you know, are very fond of it." Mrs. Randolph, in memoranda prepared for her father's biographer, gave similar testimony, which has been accepted and copied by nearly every writer of Jeffersoniana; and Jefferson himself said, "Gambling corrupts all dispositions and creates a habit of hostility against all mankind." Nevertheless, his account-books contain frequent entries of money won or lost in games of chance; but they were

small amounts, never more than a few shillings, which were always carefully noted like this:

"Lost at Backgammon..... 7/6
Won at Cards..... 7/
Won at Backgammon..... 7d.
Won at Cross and Pyle..... 3/
Lost at Lotto.....18/
Mrs. Jefferson lost at cards..... 1/3"

Although he was a breeder of fine horses and a famous equestrian, Jefferson never allowed any of them on the turf. Nor did he ever attend a race, so Bacon and his daughter testify, or patronize or encourage horse-racing in any way, although at that date it was one of the universal amusements of the Virginia gentleman. This is said to have been quite as much from an indifference to sport as from principle. He was a liberal patron of the theatre and attended every musical entertainment that came within his convenience.

He rarely missed a show of any kind. It has been said that "his curiosity was in quantity as a child's, in quality as a philosopher's." His diary abounds in entries like these:

"1791 Dec 20 pd for seeing a lion 21 months old 11, ½ d
"1792 June 1 pd seeing a small seal .125
"1797 March 10 pd seeing elephant .5 d
" 13 pd seeing elk .75 d
"1798 Jan 25 pd seeing Caleb Phillips a dwarf. 25 d

(Note he weighs — lb now and when born he weighed with the clothes in which he was swaddled 31 lb, he is — years old.

"April 10 1800 pd seeing a painting .25 d"

During the most critical period of his administration of the foreign policy of the government he paid six pence to see an alligator and a shilling to see a learned pig. This might be accounted for

by his well-known love of natural history had he not attended a balloon ascension at the same time at the enormous expense of fifteen shillings, and paid one shilling to see "a wax figure of the King of Prussia," and two shillings to witness a puppet show. Nor did Jefferson have the ordinary excuse that some grown-up people consider necessary to justify gratifying curiosity in such a manner, for his children and grandchildren were at Monticello.

He was a man of temperate habits, but spent a great deal of money for wine. His daughter testifies that "he never drank ardent spirits or strong wines. Such was his aversion, that when in his last illness his physician desired him to use brandy as an astringent, he could not be induced to take it strong enough." Bacon gives similar testimony. Jefferson himself says: "Of all the great calamities, intemperance is the greatest. The drunkard as much as the maniac requires restrictive measures to save him from the fatal infatuation under which he is destroying his health, his morals, his family and his usefulness to society." Again he refers to "The loathsome and fatal effects of whisky, destroying the fortunes, the bodies, the minds and the morals of our people."

At the same time Jefferson was an advocate of the use of wine as a matter of health and principle. "I rejoice as a moralist," he says, "at the prospect of a reduction of the duties on wine by our national legislature. It is an error to view a tax on that liquor as merely a tax on the rich. It is a prohibition of its use among the middle classes of our citizens, and a condemnation of them to the poison of whisky, which is desolating their homes. No nation is drunken where wine is cheap; and none sober where the dearness of

wine substitutes ardent whisky or spirits as the common beverage. It is in truth, the only antidote to the bane of whisky."

Jefferson imported large quantities of wine, and kept a record of every bottle bought and every bottle consumed, which he explained was "to try the fidelity of Martin," evidently the servant in charge of his cellar. From his account-book we know that during his first year in the White House he spent $2,262.33 for wines and during his last year only $75.88. During his first year his groceries cost him $2,003.71; during his last year $258.00. This may be explained by the circumstance that he was in the habit of importing large quantities of dainties for which he had acquired a taste during his residence at the French capital, and also because of his increasing anxiety concerning his debts. From the account-book owned by the late Samuel J. Tilden we are able to learn exactly how much Jefferson expended for his entertainments at the White House and for his other personal expenses. It appears that his wines cost him the following sums in the years named, according to his own calculations:

"$2,622.33	in 1801
1,975.72	in 1802
1,253.57	in 1803
2,668.94	in 1804
546.41	in 1805
659.38	in 1806
553.97	in 1807
75.58	in 1808
"Total $10,855.90	
"Average per year, ⅛th 1,356.98"	

His Madeira seems to have occupied a larger share of his thoughts than any other of his wines.

We have a table of the duration of each pipe of Madeira up to 1804.

"MADEIRA.

No.	Rec'd.	broached.	finished.	lasted.
1	1801 May 3	01 May 15	01 Nov. 3	Excluding absence 3½ months
2	1801 June 12	Nov 3	02 June 6	6 months
3	do	02 June 6	03 April 10	7 months
4	" Sept 28	03 April 10	04 May 28	10 months
5	do	04 May 28	05 May 15 sent remain. 76 gall to Monticello	
6	1803 Mar 3	05 May 15	06 June	10 mo 17 d
7	" do	06 July	07 Nov. 25	10 " 19 "
8	1804 Mar 19	07 Nov 25		

The two hundred bottles of champagne which appear to have been received from M. D'Yrujo, "100 December 11, 1802, and 100 January 10, 1803," gave occasion for the following letter from the President to the collector at Philadelphia:

"DEAR SIR,—Mons. d'Yrujo the Spanish Minister here has been so kind as to spare me two hundred bottles of champagne part of a large parcel imported for his own use and consequently privileged from duty; but it would be improper for me to take the benefit of that. I must therefore ask the favor of you to take the proper measures for paying the duty, for which purpose I enclose you a bank-check for twenty two and a half dollars, the amount of it. If it could be done without mentioning my name, it would avoid ill-intended observation, as in some such way as this, 'By duty paid on a part of such a parcel of wines not entitled to privilege,' or in any other way you please. The wine was imported into Philadelphia about mid summer last. Accept assurance of my great esteem and respect,

"TH. JEFFERSON.

"GENERAL MUHLENBERG."

During the later years of his life he wrote a friend: "I have lived temperately, eating little

animal food and that not as an aliment so much as a condiment for the vegetables which constitute my principal diet. I double, however, the Doctor's glass and a half of wine, and even treble it with a friend; but half its effects by drinking weak wines only. The ardent wines I can not drink, nor do I use ardent spirits in any form. Malt liquors and cider are my table drinks, and my breakfast, like that also of my friend, is of tea and coffee."

In his financial transactions Jefferson was scrupulously honest, and the manner in which he settled the debts of his father-in-law, Wayles, is an example to conscientious men. After his death there was found among his papers a letter from Littleton W. Tazewell, at one time Governor of Virginia and afterwards a member of the United States Senate from that State, who wrote in the interest of a Mr. Welch, who seems to have been one of the heaviest creditors of Mr. Wayles: "I have no occasion to say to you any thing more relative to the payments of the several installments of Mr. Wayles's debt due to Mr. Welch's house. Your conduct as to this affair has been such as I expected, & for his sake I could wish the other creditors could feel the same sentiments which have actuated you. For myself, I have to repeat that whenever your convenience will permit, without injury, the payment will be expected. Until then it ought not to be asked, & when this period shall arrive, to you I know a request will not be necessary."

This letter is difficult to explain, as Wayles is supposed to have been a man of large means, and Mrs. Jefferson inherited a considerable amount of property from him, as related in another chapter. Nevertheless, in 1800, twenty-seven years after

the death of his wife's father, Jefferson seems to have been still paying off the latter's indebtedness by instalments, for when his own son-in-law wrote him for money he replies: "I sincerely wish I were able to aid you in the embarrassments you speak of. But tho' I have been wiping out Mr. Wayles' old scores it has been impossible to me to avoid some new ones. The profits of my Bedford estate have gone for this purpose, and the unprofitable state of Albemarle has kept me in a constant struggle. There is a possible sale which might enable me to aid you, and nothing could be so pleasing to me."

In January, 1801, during the heat of the Presidential contest with Burr, he learned that a contract he had made with a Mr. Craven in Monticello had not been carried out. His letters do not explain how it happened, but he appears to have trusted "Perry's people," and it gave him great concern. He blames nobody, and says to his son-in-law: "The question now, however, is as to the remedy. You have done exactly what I would have wished, and as I place the compliance with my contract with Mr. Craven before any other object, we must take every person from the nailery able to cut and keep them at it till the clearing is completed."

Jefferson believed that the stories of his atheism and immorality could be directly traced to the ministers and the aristocracy of Virginia, and were intended as retribution for the conspicuous part he had taken in the separation of church and state and in the repeal of the laws of primogeniture, which abolished caste among his neighbors. The statute for religious liberty in Virginia, which he wrote and forced through the Legislature, was copied in nearly every other

State, and vehemently opposed by the clergy and laymen of wealth and influence. It was not until 1834 that the divorce between church and state was complete and universal in this country.

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man," said Jefferson. "I have ever thought religion a concern purely between our maker and our conscience, for which we are accountable to Him, and not to the priest. I never tell my religion, nor scrutinize that of another. I never attempted to make a convert, nor wished to change another's creed. I have ever judged of the religion of others by their lives, for it is in our lives and not from our words, that our religion must be read."

Jefferson was, moreover, a man of deep religious sentiment. This is shown by abundant evidence in his writings and by his behavior at the death of his wife, his beloved sister Jane, and his daughter, Mrs. Eppes. At one time his studies led him to believe in Presbyterianism as the clearest theological expression of the teachings of Christ. In 1794, as related in another chapter, he endeavored to arrange for the removal to America of the Calvinistic college of Geneva, Switzerland, and planned to establish the entire faculty at Charlottesville as the nucleus of a State's university. This was the first step in the development of the idea that afterwards found form and substance in the present University of Virginia. But French Calvinism did not commend itself to the practical-minded Virginians. Jefferson appealed to General Washington for support and encouragement, and urged him to dedicate the property presented to him by the Legislature as an endowment for such an institution. Washington's practical mind ques-

tioned the expediency of importing a faculty of theologians unfamiliar with the language and unsympathetic with the religious opinion prevailing in Virginia, and suggested to Jefferson that if teachers were to be brought from abroad it would be better to seek them in the English universities. Acting upon his advice, Jefferson turned to Edinburgh, and endeavored to obtain a faculty there. This, however, was only one of his many inconsistencies, and those who are familiar with the incidents of his life will not be surprised to learn that in a letter to a friend he commended a nursery of the gloomiest and cruelest sort of Presbyterianism and a seminary of Calvinists as the two best institutions of learning in the world.

"You know well," he writes to Wilson Nicolas, "that the colleges of Edinburg and Geneva, as seminaries of learning, are the two eyes of Europe, of which Great Britain and America give preference to the former, but all other countries to the latter," and he urged the Legislature of Virginia to pay the expense of the transfer of the entire faculty to this country and to assume the financial responsibility of their support "for the good of our country in general, and the promotion of science."

Later in life, however, under the influence and teachings of Dr. Priestley, he abandoned Calvinism, and adopted a creed quite similar to that of the Unitarians of the present day.

During the later years of his life, when he was past eighty, Jefferson denounced Calvinism with his customary vehemence. He spoke of the five points of Calvinism as "a blasphemous absurdity," "the hocus-pocus phantasm of a God" created by John Calvin, which "like another Cerberus" had "one body and three heads," and declared that in his opinion it would be "more pardonable to

believe in no God at all than to blaspheme Him by the atrocious attributes of Calvin."

Jefferson's definition of a church was: "A voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshiping of God, in such a manner as they judge acceptable to Him, and effectual to the salvation of their souls. It is voluntary because no man is by nature bound to any church. The hope of salvation is the cause of his entering into it. If he finds anything wrong in it he should be as free to go out as he was to come in," and on that principle he based his statute for religious liberty, which in his own estimation was second only in importance to the Declaration of Independence. In such a spirit he entered upon a crusade for freedom of thought, as well as freedom of action, and held religious liberty as precious as civil liberty. It was natural for him to do so, for the laws of Virginia regarding religion were as tyrannical as the exactions of the king.

When Jefferson was studying law he discovered to his surprise that it was a maxim of the courts that the Bible was a part of the common law of the realm, and that upon its authority witches were hanged, tithes exacted, profanity punished, labor on Sunday forbidden, and attendance upon religious worship required. After patient investigation he wrote an argument, which will be found among his published papers, to prove that this was a mistake. He said: "The people have not given the magistrates the care of their souls because they could not. They could not because no man has the right to abandon the care of his salvation to another. The opinions of men on religion are not the subject of civil government nor under its jurisdiction."

He traced the error to its source in the ancient law-books, and his conclusion was that the words "ancien scripture" as employed in the original meant the ancient records of the church, instead of the Holy Scriptures, as he believed they had been improperly translated. His researches began in the seventh century, when Christianity was introduced into England, and he examined every authority and source of information without being able to find evidence of either the formal or informal adoption of the Bible as a part of the common law. He was convinced that the monks had improperly interpolated the last four chapters of Exodus and from the 23d to the 29th verses of the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles into the laws of King Alfred.

However, the grant to Sir Walter Raleigh contained an express proviso that the laws of the colony should be founded "on the Christian faith now professed by the Church of England," and, as soon as the condition of the people permitted, it was divided into parishes, each of which was placed under the care of a minister of the Anglican Church. Several of these ministers had been deported from England for bad behavior. Others had emigrated to the colonies to escape prosecution for crime and to avoid expulsion from holy orders. Some of them, however, were men of high character, great piety, and zeal. The colonial parishes were compelled to accept any shepherd that the Bishop of London assigned to them, and they were considered proper fields for curates who were not wanted in England. The most of the curates, secure for life in their glebes and salaries, devoted Sunday to preaching, and the rest of the week to sport and more debasing diversions, ruling their congregations according to their amiability,

and permitting friendly planters to pay for their rum and other supplies and join them in dissipation and disorder. They judged their rich parishioners by faith and not by sight, and estimated their piety by their professions and not by their acts.

But the surplice of a priest could not conceal vice, and the profession fell into contempt. Their influence was demoralizing; their habits made them indolent and indifferent to the welfare of their parishioners. The greater number finally became attached to the households of the wealthier families, assisting in entertaining their guests and spending their incomes, and those who were not actually dissolute became easy-going, self-indulgent, good-natured, pleasure-loving men of the world, who endeavored to make up in forms and ceremonies what they lacked in spirit and truth. The tales that are told of the clergy of Old Virginia, though reported by clergymen themselves, are equal to the traditions of the priesthood of Spain. These self-indulgent gentlemen, however, were very particular on points of theology, and insisted upon the recognition of their authority and the enforcement of the laws that related to the church. The intrusion of Presbyterians, Quakers, Methodists, and other dissenters caused great indignation, particularly as these frugal embassadors to the poor did not hesitate to denounce the indolence and immorality of the clergymen of the Established Church, and made them indignant in mind if they did not always awaken their consciences. Bishop Meade mentions that in 1740 the importation of the first infidel books into Virginia created such excitement that the governor and the president of the college took counsel together, appealed to the authorities at London, and

new laws were passed more cruel than those of England to protect the true faith.

Of New England intolerance the world has heard enough. The blue laws of Connecticut were a forgery, but those of Virginia were genuine, and the code combined the harshest features of the Spartan and Mosaic laws, the laws of Holland, and the worst that were devised by the Puritans of England. This was one of the chief reasons why the intelligent young men of Jefferson's day were on ill terms with the church.

The first law passed by the House of Burgesses of Virginia provided that "no man shall sell or give hoes or dogs to the Indians," and imposed the penalty of death upon those who furnished them arms or ammunition. A tax of one pound of tobacco was imposed upon "all persons above the age of sixteen," and "all persons whatsoever upon the Sabbath day shall attend divine service both forenoon and afternoon, and such as bear arms shall bring their pieces, swords, powder and shot." Immorality, debauchery, drunkenness, gambling, duelling, and other vices of gentlemen were overlooked. A party of planters might play cards until the church-bell rang, but they must be in their seats during the service or suffer the penalty. The parson might be engaged with them in the game, when it was their duty to see that he arrived on time to perform his holy office. A good churchman might impoverish his own family or another's at the card table, or roll under the table in a drunken stupor every night after dinner, and lie there until his slaves carried him off to bed without losing his social prestige or his good standing in the church, but Quakers who wore their hats in church or in the presence of an official of the colony were put in the pillory. The cele-

bration of the mass was a capital offence. Catholics were not allowed to teach school, carry guns, own horses, or give testimony in courts of law. The denial of the divinity of Christ was punished by death at the stake. Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, and Presbyterians were forbidden to teach or hold service. Those who did so were arrested "for disturbing the peace," and fined so many pounds of tobacco "for preaching the gospel of the Son of God," as Patrick Henry put it. If a man treated a clergyman—one of those described—with disrespect, he was publicly whipped and required to ask pardon in church before the whole congregation on three successive Sundays. For failing to attend the Sunday exhortation in the catechism, the loss of a week's provisions was the penalty for the first offence; for the second, whipping and the loss of provisions as well; for the third, imprisonment and whipping. The thirty-third article of the code relating to religious duties of the colonists was benevolent and comprehensive, and is a fair sample of the rest:

"There is not one man nor woman in this colony now present, or hereafter to arrive, but shall give up an account of his and their faith and religion, and repair unto the minister, that, by his conference with them, he may understand and gather whether heretofore they have been sufficiently instructed and catechised in the principles and grounds of religion; whose weakness and ignorance herein the minister finding, and advising them, in all love and charity, to repair often unto him, to receive therein a greater measure of knowledge; if they shall refuse so to repair unto him, and he, the minister, give notice thereof unto the governor, the governor shall cause the offender, for his first time of refusal, to be whipped; for

the second time, to be whipped twice and to acknowledge his fault upon the Sabbath day in the assembly of the congregation; and, for the third time, to be whipped every day until he hath made this same acknowledgment, and asked forgiveness for the same; and shall repair unto the minister to be further instructed as aforesaid; and upon the Sabbath, when the minister shall catechise, and of him demand any question concerning his faith and knowledge, he shall not refuse to make answer, upon the same peril."

When Jefferson was appointed, with his old preceptor, Chancellor Wythe, and Edmund Pendleton, to revise the code of Virginia he wiped off the statute-books all laws relating to worship and religion and substituted for them a single paragraph which he considered of an importance equal to that of the Declaration of Independence:

"No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, ministry, or place whatsoever; nor shall he be enforced, restrained, molested or burdened in his body or his goods; nor shall he otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or beliefs; but all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion; and the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities."

For nine years, from 1777 to 1786, Jefferson, Madison, Wythe, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, Edmund Pendleton, and other liberals fought the clergy and the conservative aristocracy of Virginia to secure this simple solution of the religious problem. At the first session after the new code was submitted, all they could accomplish after twenty-five days of debate was the repeal of the statute imposing tithes and penalties for not

attending church. At each subsequent session of the Legislature they gained something. In 1779, for example, all forced contributions for the support of religion were surrendered. The church fought hard and was especially tenacious in its efforts to retain the principle that the civil government had the authority to regulate religious belief. It was not until 1786 that this point was surrendered and that part of the statute repealed which made it a felony to deny the doctrine of the Trinity, and deprived a parent of the custody of his children if he could not subscribe to the Episcopal creed.

When the statute for religious freedom was finally adopted Jefferson offered an amendment which is perhaps unique in legislation, for it was a personal admonition to all future Legislatures not to attempt its repeal:

"And though we know well that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation, has no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies constituted with power equal to our own, and that, to declare this act irrevocable would therefore have no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are the natural rights of mankind; and that, if any act shall hereafter be passed to repeal the present or narrow its operation, such an act will be an infringement of natural rights."

There is a popular impression that Jefferson forbade religious instruction at the University of Virginia, but the contrary is the case. That institution is usually coupled with Girard College as an example of atheistic propaganda, but the motto of the University is a passage from St. Paul selected by Jefferson, and by his orders inscribed upon the frieze of the rotunda of the auditorium:

"And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

The catalogue of the institution says that "morality and religion are recognized as the foundation and indispensable concomitants of education. Great efforts are made to surround the students with religious influences, but experience having proved that it is best to forbear the employment of coercion, the attendance upon religious exercises is entirely voluntary. Prayers are held every evening and divine service is conducted twice on Sunday in the University Chapel by clergymen invited from the principal religious denominations."

The rules permit all ministers and students who are preparing for the ministry to enjoy free of cost all of the privileges of the University, "including tuition, attendance at the lectures and recitations, and the privileges of the libraries and laboratories." Very few if any other institutions are so liberal.

In the regular course each term are lectures on religious and scriptural subjects such as "Bible History," the "Holy Land," the "Mosaic Code of Laws," the "Life of Christ," the "Life of St. Paul," the "Lives of the Apostles," the "Kings of Israel," the "Literary Features of the Bible," the "Poetry of the Bible," the "History of Prophecy," and similar topics. These lectures are delivered by gentlemen selected for their learning, but sectarian teaching and theological discussion are prohibited.

In 1822 a Scotchman named Cooper, and a son-in-law of Dr. Priestley, was elected professor of chemistry at a salary of one thousand dollars a year. When it was discovered that he held views similar to those of his father-in-law, the founder

of the Unitarian denomination, and that he denied the Trinity and the influence of the Holy Spirit, the conservative religious sentiment of Virginia was shocked, and a violent attack was made upon the young institution which had received its endowment and expected its maintenance from the State Legislature. Much to their chagrin, the Board of Visitors was compelled by public sentiment to cancel the contract with Professor Cooper, but paid him one year's salary and secured him a seat in the faculty of the University of South Carolina. This is all set forth in Jefferson's own handwriting in the records of the Board of Visitors, and led to a declaration of the policy of the University of Virginia with reference to religious instruction which was offered jointly by Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe on October 7, 1822. It was prepared by Jefferson and appears in his handwriting, announcing the intention of the Board of Visitors to place all religious sects upon an equal footing in the University, and to allow each to establish and maintain a divinity school under its care, "provided the same should be financially independent and were not a burden upon the endowment of the institution." It was resolved that the library should be supplied promptly upon publication with the writings "of the most respected authorities of every sect, and that courses of ethical lectures should be delivered at regular intervals for the education of the students in those moral obligations in which all of the sects agreed."

In explanation of this policy of non-sectarian education Jefferson prepared a paper which was made public at the same time. "It is not to be understood," he said, "that instruction in religious opinion and religious duties is precluded because of indifference on the part of the board of visitors

to the best interests of society. On the contrary, in the opinion of the board, the relations which exist between man and his Maker and the duties resulting from those relations, are among the most interesting and important to every human being, and the most incumbent upon his study and investigation."

Dr. Joseph Priestley, who is supposed to have been chiefly responsible for Jefferson's religious views, and had much influence in modifying them, was one of the most illustrious men of science in the eighteenth century. He was the discoverer of oxygen and the inventor of the soda fountain. He began life as a Presbyterian minister, but gradually modified his views until finally he taught the mild theology of the Unitarian faith and may be considered one of the founders of that denomination. After leaving the pulpit he taught school and wrote school-books, which were for many years in general use in English-speaking countries. When Dr. Franklin went to London in 1761 he described to Dr. Priestley his experiments in electricity, which suggested the publication of the first printed volume relating to that science. The work was remarkably successful, passed through several editions, and was considered an authority during that generation. While living in Birmingham Dr. Priestley wrote a reply to the "Reflections of Edmund Burke." This aroused the indignation of the people, who attacked his house and chapel, burned them, smashed his apparatus, and scattered his books and manuscripts through the streets of the city. Dr. Priestley made a claim for four thousand pounds against the city, and after nine-years' litigation was awarded twenty-five hundred pounds to compensate him for the damage committed by the mob. Lord Shelbourne,

whose librarian he had formerly been, gave him an annual pension of one hundred and fifty pounds for life, and his brother-in-law settled upon him an annuity of two hundred pounds. Thus secured against poverty, Dr. Priestley sought more congenial surroundings in the United States. He was received as a distinguished scholar, was given a public reception in New York, declined the chair of chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania, and a fee of one thousand dollars for a course of scientific lectures. He retired to a farm in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, where he continued his studies and kept his name before the public as the author of school-books and works of scientific value. His published volumes number one hundred and forty. Dr. Priestley's religious views made him the object of frequent and bitter attacks from the orthodox clergy, but the Franklin circle in Philadelphia made a great deal of him. He was the most conspicuous member of the Philosophical Society after Franklin's death, and frequently preached in the Unitarian chapel which had been founded by his followers in Philadelphia and was regularly attended by Jefferson.

Another reason for the popular belief that Jefferson was an atheist was found in his refusal to receive the rector of the Episcopal church of which he was a vestryman while on his dying bed. His physician has left an unprejudiced account of that circumstance, as follows:

"Upon my expressing the opinion, on one occasion that he was somewhat better, he turned to me and said, 'Do not imagine for a moment that I feel the smallest solicitude about the result; I am like an old watch, the pinion worn out here, and a wheel there, until it can go no longer.' On another occasion when he was unusually ill he

observed to the doctor, 'A few hours more, doctor, and it will be all over.' Upon being suddenly aroused from sleep by noise in the room, he asked if he had heard the name of Dr. Hatch mentioned —the Minister whose church he attended. Upon my replying in the negative, he observed, as he turned over, 'I have no objection to see him, as a kind and good neighbor.' The impression made upon my mind at the moment was, that his religious opinions having been formed upon mature study and reflection, he had no doubts upon his mind, and therefore did not desire the attendance of a clergyman. I have never since doubted of the correctness of the impression then taken."

His critics also quote a memorandum which he furnished to a young friend setting forth his idea of the best way to study religion, which was as follows:

"RELIGION.

"In the first place divest yourself of all bias in favor of novelty and singularity of opinion. Indulge them on any other subject rather than that of religion. On the other hand shake off all fears and servile prejudices under which weak minds are severely crouched. Fix Reason firmly in her seat and call to her tribunal every fact, every opinion. Question with boldness even the existence of a God; because if there be one, he must more approve of the homage of reason rather than of blindfolded fear. You will naturally examine first, the religion of your own country. Read the Bible then as you would Livy or Tacitus. For example in the Book of Joshua we are told that the sun stood still for several hours. Were we to read that fact in Livy or Tacitus, we should class it with their showers of blood, speaking of statues, beasts, etc. But it is said that the writer of that book was inspired. Examine therefore, candidly, what evidence there is of his having been inspired. The pretension is entitled to your inquiry because millions believe it. On the other hand you are astronomer enough to know how contrary it is to the law of nature. You will next read the New Testament. It is the history of a personage called Jesus. Keep in your eye the opposite pretentions: 1. Of those who say he was begotten by God, born of a virgin, suspended and reversed the laws of nature at will, and ascended bodily into heaven; and 2, Of those who say he was a man of illegiti-

THOMAS JEFFERSON

(Painted by Thomas Sully)

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mate birth, of a benevolent heart, enthusiastic mind, who set out with pretensions to divinity, ended in believing them, and was punished capitally for sedition, by being gibbeted according to the Roman Law, which punished the first commission of that offence by whipping, and the second by exile, or death in furco. See this law in Digest lib. 48 tit. 19 28, 30 and Lipsius lib. 2 de cruce, cap 2. Do not be frightened from this inquiry by any fear of its consequences. If it ends in a belief that there is no God, you will find incitements to virtue in the comfort and pleasantness you will feel in its exercise, and the love of others which it will procure for you. If you find reason to believe there is a God, a consciousness that you are acting under his eye, and that he approves you will be a vast additional incitement: if that Jesus was also a God, you will be comforted by a belief of his aid and love. Your own reason is the only oracle given you by heaven; and you are answerable, not for the rightness but for the uprightness of the decision."

But, on the other hand, during the latter years of his life a friend and admirer of Jefferson's, who had named his son after him, requested that he would write a letter of advice for his young namesake. Jefferson accordingly wrote the following beautiful note to be kept until the young child came to years of understanding:

"*To Thomas Jefferson Smith.*

"This letter will, to you, be as one from the dead. The writer will be in the grave before you can weigh its counsels. Your affectionate and excellent father has requested that I would address to you something which might possibly have a favorable influence upon the course of life you have to run; and I too, as a namesake, feel an interest in that course. Few words will be necessary with good dispositions on your part. Adore God. Reverence and cherish your parents. Love your neighbor as yourself, and your country more than yourself. Be just. Be true. Murmur not of the ways of Providence. So shall the life into which you have entered be the portal to one of eternal and ineffable bliss. And if to the dead it is permitted to care for the things of this world, every action of your life will be under my regard. Farewell.

"TH. JEFFERSON.

"MONTICELLO, Feb. 21st, 1825."

In addition to his liberal religious views, Jefferson's critics among the orthodox churches of the

country were inclined to consider his attachment for France a dangerous tendency. The conservative men of the young nation considered the French people reckless, extravagant, and depraved, and had no confidence in their political, moral, or religious character. Hence it was not unnatural for them to look with apprehension and disfavor upon a politician who regarded them so highly.

While he was President Jefferson refused to issue the customary Thanksgiving and Fast-Day proclamations, on the ground that "civil powers alone have been given to the President of the United States, and not authority to prescribe any religious exercises." But nevertheless he believed in prayer, and frequently appealed to the Supreme Being for guidance and protection. In his first inaugural address as President he invoked "that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe to lead our councils to what is best and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity." "I offer my prayers to the Supreme Ruler of the universe," he said, "that he may long preserve our country in freedom and prosperity." "I join in addressing him whose kingdom ruleth over all."

In his second inaugural address President Jefferson acknowledged the Divine Power and invoked "the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our forefathers as Israel of old from their native land and planted them in the country flowing with all the necessaries and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his providence and our riper years with his wisdom and power; and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplication that he will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they

do shall result in good, and secure to you the peace, friendship and approbation of all nations." "That the Supreme Ruler of the universe may have our country under his special care, will be among the latest of my prayers."

In an address to Washington he said, "We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God."

To the Danbury Baptists in 1802 he said, "I reciprocate your prayers for the protection and blessing of the Common Father and Creator of men."

To the Baltimore Baptists he said, "I return your kind prayers with supplications to the same Almighty Being for your future welfare and that of our beloved country."

In reply to a complimentary address from the Legislature of Virginia he wrote, "That the Supreme Ruler of the universe may have our country under his special care, will be among the latest of my prayers."

Jefferson frequently expressed his disapproval of foreign missions. "I do not know that it is a duty to disturb by missionaries the religion and peace of other countries," he said, "who think themselves bound to extinguish by fire and fagot the heresies to which we give the name of conversions and quote our own example for it." Nevertheless he gave liberally to missionary purposes, and in his account-books we find frequent entries of sums of money paid towards the support of churches, missionaries, and religious schools. During a single year, 1803, while he was in the White House, he gave one hundred dollars to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, one hundred dollars to a church in South Carolina, fifty dollars for a church in Alexandria, and one hundred dol-

lars "to Reverend Mr. Coffin for a college in Tennessee."

A random examination of several pages of his account-book shows the following contributions for religious purposes:

"1798, Nov. 27. Pd. Mr. B. a subscript. for missionaries $15.

"1800 Feb. 26 Pd. 5 dollars in part for $20. subscript. for a hot press Bible.

"1801, June 25. Gave orders on J. Barnes for 25 D. toward fitting up a chapel.

"1801, Sept. 23. Contribution at a sermon $7.20

"1802, Ap. 7. Gave an order on J. Barnes, for 50 dollars in favor of Revd. Mr. Parkinson toward a Baptist meeting house.

"1802, Ap. 9. Gave order on J. Barnes in favor of Rev. Dr. Smith toward rebuilding Princeton College, 100 dollars."

In 1804 Jefferson contributed fifty dollars to the American Bible Society.

There is not the slightest doubt of Jefferson's belief in the Supreme Being, and in a letter to Adams in 1823, three years before his death, he gave his views as follows: "I hold without appeal to revelation, that when we take a view of the universe in all its parts, general or particular, it is impossible for the human mind not to perceive and feel a conviction of design, consummate skill, and infinite power in every atom of its composition. It is impossible I say, for the human mind not to believe that there is in all this design, cause, and effect, up to an ultimate cause, a fabricator of all things from matter and motion their preserver and regulator, while permitted to exist in their present form, and their regeneration into new and other forms. We see too, evident proofs of the necessity of a superintending power, to maintain the universe in its course and order. So irresistible are these evidences of an intelligent

and powerful agent, that, of the infinite number of men who have existed through all time, they have believed, in the proportion of a million to one in the hypothesis of an eternal pre-existence of a Creator."

Jefferson believed in a future life. He writes to John Dickenson, "Your letter was like the joy we expect in the mansions of the blessed, when received with the embraces of our fathers, we shall be welcomed with their blessings as having done our part not unworthily of them."

And then to John Cartwright: "Your age of eighty-four and mine of eighty-one years insure us a speedy meeting. We may then commune at leisure, and more fully, on the good and evil which, in the course of our long lives, we have both witnessed."

In a letter to Charles Thomson, written from Monticello during his last days, he said: "Say nothing of my religion; it is known to myself and my God alone. Its evidence before the world is to be sought in my life; if that has been honest and dutiful to society, the religion which has regulated it can not be a bad one. It is a singular anxiety which some people have that we should all think alike. Would the world be more beautiful were all our faces alike, were our tempers, our talents, our tastes, our forms, our wishes, aversions and pursuits cast exactly in the same mould? If no variety existed in the animal, vegetable or mineral creation, but all were strictly uniform, catholic and orthodox, what a world of physical and moral monotony it would be! These are the absurdities into which those run who usurp the throne of God and dictate to him what he should have done. May they with all their metaphysical riddles appear before that tribunal with

as clean hands and hearts as you and I shall. There, suspended in the scales of eternal justice, faith and works will show their worth by their weight. God bless you and preserve you long in life and health."

Nor is there any doubt concerning Jefferson's opinion of the Bible. Mrs. Ellen W. Coolidge, a granddaughter, says that at the time of the death of Mrs. Eppes, his daughter, he sat beside her lifeless remains for hours with his Bible in his hands. "He has, who has been so often and so harshly accused of unbelief," she writes, "in his hour of intense affliction sought and found consolation in the sacred volume. A Comforter was there for his true heart and devout spirit although his faith might not be what the world calls orthodox." In writing to Governor Page of his daughter's health Jefferson said, "But whatever is to be our destiny, wisdom as well as duty dictates that we should acquiesce in the will of Him whose it is to give and take away, and be contented in the enjoyment of those who are still permitted to be with us."

He left several letters and other writings bearing upon the Bible as a literary work and a teacher of morals. "There never was a more pure and sublime system of morality delivered to man," he wrote Dr. Priestley, "than is to be found in the four Evangelists."

Speaking of David the Psalmist, Jefferson once wrote: "I have no hesitation in giving him the palm over all the hymnists of every language and of every time. Turn to the 148th Psalm. Have such conceptions ever before been expressed?"

To Isaac Engelbrecht, who wrote him shortly before his death for a sentiment in autograph, Jefferson replied, "Knowing nothing more moral,

4 Je sais ce que je ferai, afin que quand on m'aura ôté mon administration, il y ait des gens qui me reçoivent dans leurs maisons.

5. Alors il fit venir séparément chacun des débiteurs de son maître; et il dit au premier : Combien dois-tu à mon maître ?

6. Il répondit : Cent mesures d'huile. Et l'*économe* lui dit : Reprends ton billet; assieds-toi là, et écris-en promptement *un autre* de cinquante.

7. Il dit ensuite à un autre : Et toi, Combien dois-tu ? Il dit : Cent mesures de froment. Et l'*économe* lui dit : Reprends ton billet, et écris-en un *autre* de quatre-vingts.

8. Et le maître loua cet économe infidèle de ce qu'il avoit agi avec habileté; car les enfans de ce siècle sont plus prudens dans leur génération, que les enfans de lumière.

9. Et moi, je vous dis aussi : Faites-vous des amis avec les richesses injustes, afin que quand vous viendrez à manquer, ils vous reçoivent dans les tabernacles éternels.

10. Celui qui est fidèle dans les petites choses, sera aussi fidèle dans les grandes; et celui qui est injuste dans les petites choses, sera aussi injuste dans les grandes.

11. Si donc vous n'avez pas été fidèle dans les richesses injustes, qui vous confiera les véritables *richesses?*

12. Et si vous n'avez pas été fidèles dans ce qui est à autrui ; qui vous donnera ce qui est à vous ?

13. Nul serviteur ne peut servir deux maîtres; car ou il haïra l'un, et aimera l'autre; ou il s'attachera à l'un, et méprisera l'autre. Vous ne pouvez servir Dieu et Mammon.

14. Les Pharisiens, qui étoient avares, écoutoient tout cela, et se moquoient de lui.

15. Et il leur dit : Pour vous, vous voulez passer pour justes devant les hommes, mais Dieu connoît vos cœurs; car ce qui est élevé devant les hommes est une abomination devant Dieu.

4 I am resolved what to do, that when I am put out of the stewardship, they may receive me into their houses.

L. 16.

5 So he called every one of his lord's debtors *unto him*, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my lord?

6 And he said, An hundred measures of oil. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty.

7 Then said he to another, And how much owest thou? And he said, An hundred measures of wheat. And he said unto him, Take thy bill, and write fourscore.

8 And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely; for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light.

9 And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that, when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.

10 He that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much; and he that is unjust in the least, is unjust also in much.

11 If, therefore, ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true *riches?*

12 And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another man's, who shall give you that which is your own?

13 No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

14 And the Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard all these things: and they derided him.

15 And he said unto them, Ye are they which justify yourselves before men; but God knoweth your hearts: for that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God.

PAGE FROM JEFFERSON'S BIBLE

(Original in Smithsonian Institution, Washington)

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more sublime, more worthy of preservation than David's description of a good man in his XVth Psalm, I here transcribe it from Brady and Tate's version." Then, notwithstanding his great age and lame wrist, he copies the Psalm in full.

When he was a law student Jefferson wrote an essay on the "Evidences of Christianity from the Standpoint of a Lawyer," and it is considered an able argument.

One of the most interesting objects in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington is known as "Mr. Jefferson's Bible." During his retirement at Monticello, after his return from the White House, he spent several months in the preparation of an arrangement of the New Testament which he intended to publish and to have translated into the various Indian languages as the basis of a true religion. It is a little leather-bound volume, evidently intended for an account-book. With great neatness and care he pasted upon its pages four versions of the New Testament, Latin, Greek, French, and English, in parallel columns. The volume is made with the scissors and paste-pot, and a few interlineations and notes in Jefferson's minute handwriting. He took a copy of the New Testament and cut from it and threw away as worthless every verse and paragraph that to his mind was ambiguous or controversial, every statement of fact that would not have been admitted as evidence in the court of justice, and all duplications in the narrative of the life of Christ. The remainder of the gospels and the epistles are then arranged in their proper chronological order, a passage from St. Luke being sandwiched between one from St. Matthew and one from St. John. His idea was to present the best account of every incident and fact in the lives of Christ and His

apostles with all of their teachings that were undisputed and that required no interpretation.

On the margins are explanatory notes and references. The index refers to the proper place of each passage in the ordinary Testament, so that the reader may compare it with the original if he desires to do so. He cites the sections of the Roman Law under which Christ was tried, and attaches a map of Palestine showing the places mentioned in the New Testament, and a map of the world showing the knowledge of geography at the time of the crucifixion.

In a letter to a Mr. Robinson, which evidently was written before he completed this work, Jefferson refers to it as follows: "I too have made a wee little book from the same materials which I call the 'Philosophy of Jesus.' It is a paradigma of His doctrines, made by cutting the texts out of the book and arranging them on the pages of a blank book in a certain order of time or subject. A more beautiful or precious morsel of ethics I have never seen. It is a document in proof that I am a real Christian; that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus, very different from the Platonists who call me infidel and themselves Christians and preachers of the gospel, while they draw all their characteristic dogmas from what its authors never said or saw. They have compounded from the heathen mysteries a system beyond the comprehension of man, of which the great reformer of the vicious ethics and deism of the Jews, were He to return to earth, would not recognize one feature. If I had time I would add to my little book the Greek, Latin and French texts, in columns side by side, and I wish I could subjoin a translation of Gassendi's syntagma of the doctrines of Epicurus, which, notwithstanding the

A Table

of the Texts ~~of this Extract~~ ~~Narrative~~ from the Evangelists employed in this Narrative, and of the order of their arrangement.

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	40. 42–48. 51. 52. at 12. years of age he accompanies his
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3.	J. 2. 12–16. drives the traders out of the temple.
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16.	L. 7. 36–46. a woman anointeth him.
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33.	Mt. 18. 23.–35. parable of the wicked servant.

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(Original in Smithsonian Institution, Washington)

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calumnies of the Stoics and caricatures of Cicero, is the most rational system remaining of the philosophy of the ancients, as frugal of vicious indulgence and fruitful of virtue as the hyperbolical extravagances of his rival sects."

XII

JEFFERSON'S SERVICES TO SCIENCE

THE most striking characteristics of Jefferson were his egotism, his industry, and his comprehensive learning. He had an opinion on every subject for every comer. The only subjects on which he confessed himself deficient were geology and poetry. No problem was too abstruse for him to grasp. He seldom asked advice or assistance from others. He was an infallible oracle to half the population of the country and a dangerous demagogue to the other half, but he was universally recognized as a man of scientific as well as literary attainments. Franklin was the first president of the American Philosophical Society, then the most learned of colonial associations. He was succeeded by David Rittenhouse, who died in 1796, and after him came Jefferson, who was also an active or honorary member of nearly every literary or scientific society in the United States. There is scarcely a subject in the entire range of human inquiry upon which Jefferson did not express his views in writing with fearlessness, with absolute faith in his own convictions and judgment. He discusses art, architecture, the treatment of infants, meteorology, music, astronomy, the practice of medicine, the breeding of sheep, the science of government, the apparel of women, the origin of meteoric storms, and the temperature of the moon as freely as politics or religion. In all the sciences he advanced propositions and solved problems with equal audacity. In criticism he was caus-

tic and reckless, and commends with the same freedom that he condemns. He rejects the Mosaic account of the creation and the flood as fiction, and pronounces the Gospels the sublimest code of morals ever conceived. He would select military commanders by their physiognomy. "The ornaments and amusements of life," he says, "are entitled to their portion of attention. Those for a female are dancing, drawing and music. Dancing is a healthful exercise and graceful amusement," he said. "No less than two hours of each day should be devoted to exercise, for a strong body makes the mind strong." "I think it is lost time," he says in a letter to Peter Carr, "to attend lectures on moral philosophy," and, almost on the same date, he breathes this beautiful sentiment to David Campbell: "I am sensible of the mark of esteem manifested by the name you have given your son. Tell him from me that he must consider as essentially belonging to it, to love his friends and wish no ill of his enemies."

The only thing Jefferson declined to criticise was poetry, and he actually confesses his inability to do so. Although he constantly read and quoted Homer, Horace, and Virgil in his student days, he said, "To my own mortification, I am of all men living the last who should undertake to decide as to the merits of poetry." Nevertheless he was fond of Ossian. He objected to fiction. He held that novels "were a great obstacle to a good education, for the time lost in reading them should be instructively employed. For a like reason too much poetry should not be indulged in;" but like Washington he wrote poems occasionally. Washington's poems were amorous; Jefferson's were funereal and generally concerned a future life. Here is one:

"Shores there are, blessed shores for us remain,
And favored isles with golden fruitage crowned,
Where tufted flow'rets paint the verdant plain,
Where every breeze shall medicine every wound.
There the stern tyrant that embitters life
Shall vainly suppliant spread his asking hand;
There shall we view the billows strife,
Aid the kind breast and waft his boat to land."

Two days before his death Jefferson told Mrs. Randolph, his daughter, that in an old pocket-book in a certain drawer in his desk she would find something that would interest her. She found these lines:

"A DEATH BED ADVICE FROM T. J. TO M. R.

"Life's visions are vanished, its dreams are no more,
Dear friends of my bosom, why bathed in tears,
I go to my fathers, I welcome the shore,
Which crowns all my hopes or which buries my cares.

"Then farewell my dear, my loved daughter adieu,
The last pang of life is in parting from you.
Two seraphs await me long shrouded in death,
I will bear them your love on my last parting breath."

His most serious literary work was his "Notes on Virginia," which was written for M. de Marbois, the French ambassador, who asked for information upon the resources, the industries, and affairs of that State. It is a classic in literary style and in the treatment of the subject, and illustrates his thorough knowledge of many things. All the state papers issued from the Department of State while he was at its head were written with his own pen. There were no assistant secretaries at that time and no clerks competent to prepare diplomatic despatches.

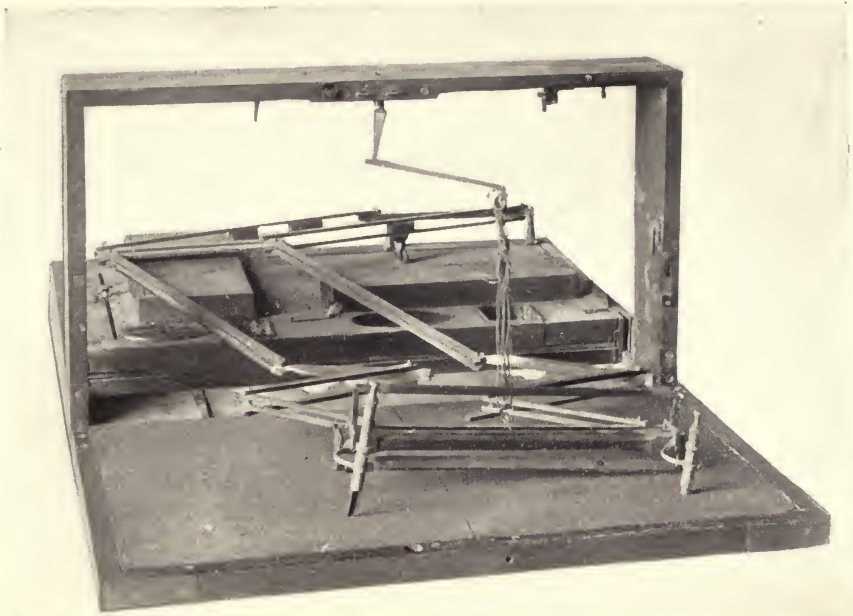
Jefferson probably wrote more letters with his own hand than any other public man that ever lived. The extent of his correspondence may be inferred from the fact that more than twenty-six

thousand letters, neatly folded and briefed, were preserved by him and carefully filed away to be bound after his death, with copies of the replies sent to more than sixteen thousand. These, however, were only a small portion of his correspondence. He retained only those letters which were considered of future usefulness or importance. Stenography was not invented at that time. Every one of his letters was written with his own hand and with great care, although after breaking his wrist, while minister to France, the use of a pen became a great labor to him. His penmanship was small, plain, and legible, every letter being perfectly formed. His account-books were kept in so small a hand that some of the entries cannot be read without a magnifying-glass.

Jefferson was ambidextrous. He could write equally well with either hand. When his right wrist was broken he learned to use his pen with his left hand, which became as skilful as the other. It would have been impossible for him to have carried on his extensive correspondence without being able to relieve his right hand at intervals. In a letter to John Adams in 1817 he complains of the burden of his correspondence. "From sunrise till one or two o'clock in the day, and often from dinner to dark I am drudging at the writing table," he says. "All this to answer letters into which neither interest nor inclination on my part enters and often from persons whose names I have never heard before. Yet, writing civilly, it is hard to refuse them civil answers. Strangers and others in the most friendly disposition oppress me with their concerns, their pursuits, their projects, inventions, and speculations, political, moral, religious, mechanical, mathematical, historical, etc, etc, etc."

Nearly all of Jefferson's letters were copied before he mailed them,—some by his own hand, some by the hand of an amanuensis, but a great many more by the use of a polygraph and finally by a letter-press of his own invention. The polygraph, or stylograph, as he sometimes called it, was an instrument which produced a perfect facsimile, often indistinguishable from the original letter. It has not been in use for nearly a century except as a toy, but the original used by him is still preserved in the museum of the University of Virginia, and is described by Professor Francis H. Smith of that institution as "a very ingenious double writing desk, with duplicate tables, pens and inkstands. The pens are connected together at an invariable distance by a system of jointed parallelograms, with two fixed centers, such that the pens are always parallel. Whatever movement is impressed upon one is simultaneously by the connecting linkwork communicated to the other pen. Hence, if one traces on a sheet letters or figures, its companion traces at the same time identically the same forms on another sheet. The writer therefore produces two identical pages at the same time. He does it with sensibly no more fatigue than if he were using one pen only, for the weight of the pens and linkwork is supported by a strand of delicate spring wires from a silver arm extending from the frame of the box above, out of the way of the writer. By this polygraph the copy may be made on paper and with ink of the same kind as the original."

Jefferson is credited with being the inventor of the copying-press now used by everybody who desires to preserve his correspondence. The first was made in London, and was so gratifying that he ordered duplicates for Adams, Madison, the



JEFFERSON'S POLYGRAPH

(Original in Library of University of Virginia)

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Marquis de Lafayette, and other friends, who speak of them with cordial commendation. Jefferson's letter-books, however, show that his press was far from perfect. The originals in many places are almost entirely obliterated, and the greater part of the copies, which were made by pressure on moistened paper, are either wholly or in part illegible. Later, when his press was improved or greater care was taken in copying his correspondence, these results do not appear, but the defects of his early letter-press have deprived the world of a large part of his writings at a period of his life that was more interesting than any other,—the later years of his residence in France and while he was Secretary of State and Vice-President.

Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the literary executor of his grandfather, was engaged for several years, with the assistance of his mother, his wife, and his daughters, in examining and classifying the great mass of letters and other manuscripts. The collection was divided into two parts, one comprising documents relating to his public life, and the other his family and personal correspondence. The first collection was purchased by an act of Congress in 1848, and is now deposited in the Department of State. The letters are bound in volumes according to their chronological order and relation, with complete and ingenious indices which give a brief synopsis of the contents. The remainder of the letters were purchased by Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, of Boston, a son of Ellen Randolph and a great-grandson of Jefferson. The collection was presented by him to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1898, and such as are of public interest are now being printed under its auspices, with valuable historical notes and references. Most of the letters in the archives of the

Department of State have been twice published, first by order of Congress, and again in a private edition skilfully edited by Paul Leicester Ford.

When he was eighty years old Jefferson fell down a flight of steps from one of the terraces at Monticello and broke his left arm, which gave him much pain at the time and was a serious inconvenience to him for the remainder of his life.

Jefferson had an ingenious way of marking his books. He had no book-plate, and in those volumes purchased for the Congressional Library there is no name or inscription written upon the fly-leaves. At that time publishers were in the habit of indicating the different folios of their books by the letters of the alphabet printed at the bottom of the page,—folio A, B, C, etc. It was Jefferson's habit on each page containing the folio "J" to write in microscopic hand "Jefferson," and "Thomas" after the letter "T."

Virginia was blessed with great men in those days,—Washington, Marshall, Henry, Madison,—and other patriots of the Revolution from the colonies had talent and learning as well as patriotism, but Jefferson was probably the most accomplished man in public life as well as the most versatile. A fine mathematician, an astronomer who could reckon latitude and longitude as well as a sailor, and who calculated the eclipse of 1778 with accuracy, he was also able to read and write in Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian. He carried to Congress in 1775 a reputation for great literary acquirements. John Adams notes in his diary that "Duane says Jefferson is the greatest rubber off of dust that he ever met with; that he has learned French, Italian and Spanish and wants to learn German." Jefferson's political opponents a few years later questioned these ac-

complishments and denied that he had more than a casual knowledge of other languages than French. Nevertheless we know that he read Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Cervantes in the original as readily as Shakespeare and Milton, and that he was reading the Greek tragedies the year of his death. He said that he derived more pleasure from his familiarity with Greek and Latin than from any other accomplishment, and that of all literature he "preferred the ancients."

Unfortunately he was without a sense of humor. He rarely told a story and seldom enjoyed one, and witticisms were wasted in his presence.

Early in life Jefferson formed a vocabulary of such objects as would have a name in every language because of their presence in every country and in every station of life. He carried on this work for many years in several languages and endeavored to persuade Ezra Stiles and Dr. Sibley to continue it until they had produced a dictionary covering the familiar words in all languages. He had a plan for spelling-reform so as to bring it nearer to the pronunciation of words. Dr. Franklin proposed the addition of two or three new letters to the alphabet. Dr. Thornton threatened a revision of the whole alphabet. Jefferson advocated the dropping of the letter "d" from such words as "judge," "bridge," "hedge," "knowledge," and the letter "u" from words ending in "our," such as "honour," "candour," "rigour," as afterwards was done by common consent. In a letter to Madison he said: "Where strictness of grammar does not weaken expression it should be attended to. But where, by small grammatical negligence, the energy of an idea is condensed, or a word stands for a sentence, I hold grammatical rigor in contempt."

While Jefferson was in Paris a visionary Frenchman named Quesnay attempted to plant at Richmond an Academy of Arts and Sciences with branches at New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. It was to be affiliated with the Royal Societies of Europe, the French Academy, and other learned bodies for the advancement of science. Experts were to be sent from Paris and other European capitals each year to instruct the American youth and at the same time to advise the government in the development of the resources of the country. They were to serve on scientific commissions, either for the State or the National authorities or for private corporations in investigation and exploration and in any other duty requiring scientific knowledge. The Academy was to receive one-half of their fees for such services, and they were to be assisted without charge by the students, who would thus have the benefit of practical experience in the natural sciences, chemistry, botany, mineralogy, forestry, and engineering.

Quesnay had come from France with Lafayette during the Revolution and had served with distinction for two years as an engineer, but his health was so delicate that he was compelled to retire from the army. He was well known, therefore, to most of the Revolutionary leaders, and with their aid and encouragement raised sixty thousand francs by subscription and erected in the centre of Richmond a building which has long since disappeared. The corner-stone was laid with great ceremony, a board of councillors was organized with Jefferson as president, and Quesnay returned to Paris to carry out that end of the scheme. Through the endorsement of Jefferson and the Marquis de Lafayette he was received with favor

by the several scientific organizations of France, and his list of associates embraced the most distinguished savants of the country, which at that time was the centre of learning. He had obtained but one professor for his faculty when his brilliant scheme was overwhelmed by the French Revolution, and Quesnay disappeared into oblivion. Jefferson makes no further reference to him in his letters and his fate remains a mystery. The building at Richmond, however, was completed and served as a Capitol for the new State. Several patriotic conventions met there, and it was the scene of many interesting incidents, including the speeches of Patrick Henry.

Jefferson afterwards proposed to Joel Barlow the foundation of a National Academy similar to the Institute of France with head-quarters at Washington and branches in each State, hoping to secure by coöperation the financial assistance of the government and greater results for the benefit of science than by individual efforts. This was the essence of "Paternalism," to which as a democrat he objected on theory, but which, as a democrat, he advocated and defended as promoting the intelligence and education and therefore the prosperity, the happiness, and the welfare of the people.

In his own scientific work Jefferson was inaccurate, impractical, and visionary; as a patron of science he was zealous, industrious, and benevolent. His inquisitive mind sought for the truth in every direction, but his fertile imagination suggested deductions that were sometimes absurd and often fantastic. As minister to France, Secretary of State, Vice-President, President, and afterwards in his retirement he never lost an opportunity to promote a scientific inquiry or add a new

fact to the information of mankind. His strict construction of the Constitution and narrows views upon the subject of State rights never prevented him from using the authority and money of the Federal Government for the advancement of science or the diffusion of knowledge. Equally generous with his private means and the labor of his brain and hand, he was continually contriving or suggesting something that would economize the strength and increase the productive power of mankind.

Not long after coming of age he set on foot a public improvement of importance to his neighborhood. The river Rivanna, that flowed through his farm, although a considerable stream, was so obstructed as to be useless for navigation. He examined its channel, and perceiving that it could be cleared for twenty-two miles without great expense, collected funds for that purpose, supervised the work, and enabled his neighbors to float the produce of their farms to market at a nominal cost, where before they had been compelled to haul it in wagons.

While grading the top of Monticello for his house he noticed that some of the workmen used wheelbarrows with one wheel and others those with two wheels, so he took pencil, paper, and watch in hand to ascertain which was the more advantageous. He found that Julius Shard in three minutes filled a two-wheeled barrow which held four times as much as that with one wheel, and wheeled it thirty yards in a minute and a half, the same time required to move the one-wheeled barrow the same distance. As the two-wheeled barrow was thus four times the better, he ordered it used thereafter.

He once told a grandson that from the time

when, as a boy, he had turned off wearied from play and first found pleasure in books, he had never sat down in idleness. His greed for knowledge was insatiable, and he eagerly seized all means of obtaining it. It was his habit, in his intercourse with all classes of men,—the mechanic as well as the man of science,—to turn the conversation upon that subject with which his companion was best acquainted, whether it was farming, shoemaking, astronomy, the anatomy of the human body, or the theory of an extinct species of animals. Having drawn all the information his companion possessed, he noted it down in his memorandum-book, arranging it methodically and fixing it in his mind. Mathematics was his favorite study. "We have no theories there," he used to say, "no uncertainties remain on the mind; all is demonstration and satisfaction." While in Paris he studied balloon ascensions with great care, and wrote several lengthy papers upon what he calls "the aeronautical art." He advocated the application of chemistry to the common affairs of life. "I have wished to see chemistry applied to domestic objects, to malting, brewing, making cider, bread, butter, cheese, soap, and the incubation of eggs," he said.

Jefferson was the first to introduce into America "the threshing machine, which may be moved by water or horses." "Fortunately the workman who made it, a mill wright, is come in the same vessel to America," he says. "I have written to persuade him to go on immediately to Richmond, offering him the use of my model to exhibit, and to give him letters to get him into immediate employ in making them." While he was in Europe he endeavored to discover the secrets of the French perfumery manufacturers, and frequently inter-

viewed chemists on that subject, hoping to introduce the art into Virginia. An English writer who saw much of him while he was at the head of the legation in Paris testifies that he was "always on the lookout for new ideas to send home."

The Marquis de Chastellux found Jefferson proficient in natural sciences, particularly in meteorology. He had made, in conjunction with Professor Madison, of William and Mary, a series of observations of the ruling winds at Williamsburg and Monticello, and discovered that while the northeast wind had blown one hundred and twenty-seven times at Williamsburg, it had blown but thirty-two times at Monticello. He kept a record of the weather, the temperature, the rain, and the wind for nearly half a century, and it can be found in his note-books. Among his scientific instruments at Monticello he had pedometers, microscopes, theodolites, telescopes, thermometers, protractors, hydrometers, botanical microscopes, an air-pump, electrical batteries, and magnetic needles.

Jefferson had more or less knowledge of anatomy, civil engineering, physics, mechanics, meteorology, astronomy, architecture, and botany. He was so familiar with every subject discussed by ordinary men and talked so fluently and with such confidence that the people of Virginia considered him a monument of learning. The story goes that on one occasion, while stopping at an inn, he spent an evening with a stranger from the North, a highly educated man, who was so charmed with his conversation and amazed at his learning that he inquired of the landlord who his companion might be. "When he spoke of law," said the stranger, "I thought he was a lawyer; when he talked about mechanics, I was sure he was an

engineer; when he got into medicine, it was evident that he was a physician; when he discussed theology, I was convinced that he must be a clergyman; when he talked of literature, I made up my mind that I had run against a college professor who knew everything."

Many of the theories which Jefferson accepted and advanced have since been rejected by modern science, but in several lines of inquiry he was ahead of his age in reading and investigation, and was quite in advance of contemporary scholars on this side of the Atlantic because of his opportunities of study in France. He attempted at one time to dispute Newton's theory of the rainbow. He was very credulous for a man of his learning and experience, and among other things accepted the theory that the Creek Indians of Georgia were the descendants of Dido's Carthaginians, and that their ancestors had been sailors of Hanno's lost fleet. He believed and frequently recited a story told him by a fur trader that on the Upper Missouri River, near the mouth of the Yellowstone, there was a mountain of pure salt eighty miles long and forty miles wide. He believed that there was a large herd of mammoths wandering wild in the Mississippi Valley, and had several other fantastic ideas concerning the resources of the Louisiana Territory.

Jefferson had a very poor opinion of geology. Of all the sciences he took the least interest in it, because in his judgment it had "a limited usefulness." He "could not see any practical importance in knowing whether the earth was six thousand or six million years old, and the different formations were of no consequence so long as they were not composed of coal, iron, or other useful minerals." "The skin deep scratches which

we can make or find on the surface of the earth," he said, "do not repay our time with as certain and useful deductions as the pursuit of some other branches." He wrote a great deal on palæontology, however, even before it was recognized as a science. He was curious about petrifactions and fossils, and in discussing those that came under his observation advanced theories, perhaps accidental, that have since been fully substantiated. He contended that many animals then unknown to zoölogy were wandering wild in the Louisiana Territory upon the prairies and in the mountains, and to the end of life hoped that the explorers would bring into captivity one of the gigantic creatures whose bones he had examined with such interest, in order that he might have an opportunity of seeing him alive. "Such is the economy of nature," he wrote, "that no instance can be produced of her having permitted any race of her animals to become extinct."

He had other amusing theories, which, however, were at that day maintained by the leading minds of Europe and were readily accepted by the farmer-lawyer of Virginia. He collected a large amount of data by personal inquiry and investigation to prove that cold and moisture rather than heat and dryness increased the size of animals; that the largest animals were found in the coldest climates. This was contrary to the facts as known at that time. The largest animals then known to natural history were elephants and camels, whose habitat was the torrid zone of Asia and Africa, while in the arctics seals and polar bears and walruses only were found. But Jefferson stubbornly insisted that there must be undiscovered beasts among the ice-bound regions of the earth that would exceed in size anything

in the tropics, because cold and moisture must necessarily increase their growth, and, curiously enough, the largest prehistoric mammals have been found buried in the snows of Siberia. He prepared a table giving a list of the twenty-six quadrupeds common to both Europe and America. Of these seven were found larger in America than in Europe, seven of equal size, but the data concerning the other twelve was not convincing. He wrote a long and labored article to prove that the domestic animals of Europe were larger and heavier than those of America, but predicted that the latter would improve and reach an equal size with care and proper food.

With rash generalization and hasty judgment, based upon his own limited experience and observation, he entered into a controversy with a celebrated French naturalist to prove that the animals in America were superior to those of Europe in strength and general utility.

Every bold and novel theory controverting conventional ideas was fascinating to Jefferson, whether it related to politics, religion, or science. He was a daring experimenter; he loved to develop theories and follow them into new lines. He had a controversy in France concerning the origin of the marine shells that are found on the summits of mountains. Were they deposited by the flood of Noah, or had the earth risen from the sea in volcanic convulsion, or did they grow like crystals by virtue of the same force in nature that shaped stones into fantastic forms? The theory of shell growth was popular. It was advocated by Voltaire, who denied the Biblical account of the creation; but Jefferson, with unusual caution, declined to commit himself, and advised his friends to postpone final judgment until

they had further light on the subject. He was proud of his attainments in natural history, and particularly of their recognition by the great naturalist, Buffon, to whom he sent specimens and information. With the flattery of a French courtier, Buffon wrote Jefferson, "I should have consulted you, sir, before publishing my natural history and then I should have been sure of the facts." This so exalted his appreciation of his ability in that direction that he was shortly after led into a mortifying error.

In Greenbriar County, Virginia, in 1796, a deposit of bones, supposed to be those of a mammoth, were found and sent to Monticello, where Jefferson set them up and pronounced them to be those of "a carnivorous clawed animal entirely unknown to science." A curious sight might have been witnessed by people who lived along the route of travel between Monticello and Philadelphia when the Vice-President of the United States, on his way to take the oath of office and assume the second place in the gift of the nation, carried a wagon-load of bones for his baggage. He delivered them to Dr. Wistar, the naturalist of the American Philosophical Society, with a labored report under date of March 10, 1797, entitled, "A Memoir of the Discovery of Certain Bones of an Unknown Quadruped, of the Clawed Kind, in the Western Part of Virginia."

Dr. Wistar at a glance pronounced them the bones of the common sloth, or "giant edentate," and showed Jefferson other specimens of the same sort. The Vice-President was greatly humiliated, and the scientist called it "Megalonyx Jeffersonii," a name by which the animal has since been known to naturalists. Fortunately for his sensitive nature, Jefferson's lack of humor prevented him from

recognizing the satire. The bones are still exhibited at the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia.

In 1801, during the exciting contest over the Presidency, we find him carrying on a learned correspondence with Dr. Wistar over some bones of a mammoth that were discovered in Ulster County, New York; and in 1808, when the excitement over the embargo of commerce and the complications with Great Britain were at their height, he had a carload of specimens from the Big Bone Lick spread over the floors of the White House. Dr. Wistar came over from Philadelphia, selected what he wanted for the American Philosophical Society, and Jefferson sent the rest of the bones to Paris.

About this time William Cullen Bryant, who was just beginning to send verses to the newspapers, wrote a satirical poem on the President's passion for natural history:

> "Go, wretch, resign the presidential chair,
> Disclose thy secret measures, foul or fair.
> Go! Search with curious eyes for horned frogs,
> Mid the wild wastes of Louisianian bogs;
> Or where the Ohio rolls its turbid streams,
> Dig for huge bones, thy glory and thy theme."

Jefferson's plan for building a navy was fantastic. He proposed the partial construction of a large number of ships, to be left unfinished on the stocks in different harbors along the Atlantic coast until such a time as they might be needed, when, according to his theory, half the time necessary to build complete ships could be saved, and half the expense of construction could be avoided by not completing them until there was occasion for their use. Furthermore, the government could save the interest on the money they would cost

and take advantage of progress in nautical science and the improvements made in machinery and equipment in the meantime. This idea seems to have been suggested to him during a visit to Venice, where, he says, "there were then ships lying on their original stocks ready for launching at any moment which had been so for eighty years." He reasoned out this plan in great detail, and had a model made and exhibited at the President's house, but, he says, "the advocates of a navy did not fancy it. Ridicule was also resorted to, which is the ordinary substitute for reason when that fails. Having no end in view in this proposition but to combine for the public a provision for defense with economy for its preservation, I have thought no more of it since."

Jefferson was one of the earliest believers in submarine boats and torpedoes, and in letters to Robert Fulton in 1807 advocated the education of "a corps of young men trained to such a service."

Jefferson was the father of fast mails. While Secretary of State he performed the duties now intrusted to the Postmaster-General, and arranged with Colonel Pickering to carry out a dashing scheme of sending the mail at the furious rate of one hundred miles a day. His idea was that public coaches could be utilized for the service; but as they only travelled by day, he wanted to send the mail along through the night by mounted carriers to catch a stage at a convenient point the next morning. "I opened to the President," he says, "a proposition for doubling the velocity of the post riders, who now travel about fifty miles a day who might without difficulty go a hundred."

His knowledge of astronomy was probably as advanced as that of any layman of his generation. He had a decided taste for it, and enjoyed mathe-

matical computations. In a letter to Melatiah Nash in 1811 he makes some suggestions as to the improvement of almanacs, and thinks it important that they include an equation of time, "which is essential to the regulation of our clocks and watches."

He gives a learned account of the almanacs of antiquity and their astronomical features. He was equally interested in American antiquities, and while president of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and afterwards President of the United States, encouraged the exploration of Indian mounds and other prehistoric relics in the Western country.

He was deeply interested in arboriculture, and introduced several varieties of vines and trees from France. There was no limit to his services to the unskilled agriculture of his own country. In Charleston and Philadelphia there were agricultural societies to which he sent information, seeds, roots, nuts, and plants while he was in Europe. He tried to introduce olive culture into the Southern States, and returns again and again to this subject in his letters. He saw the great usefulness of the olive-tree in Europe "because of its hardiness, its fruitfulness, the low quality of the soil in which it flourishes, and the agreeable flavor it imparts to many viands otherwise tasteless or disagreeable." The culture was begun with enthusiasm, but, whether from want of skill, perseverance, the unsuitableness of the climate, or excessive richness of the soil, the trees did not flourish.

Rice was another of his agricultural hobbies. He sent to Charleston specimens of all the several kinds of rice sold in Paris. Seeing that the Italians cleaned their rice by mills similar to those used in South Carolina, he concluded that the

Italian rice was of a better quality and desired to send seed to his friends. At that time no one was allowed to send rice-seed out of Italy. Falling back on what he terms "the higher law," Jefferson induced a muleteer to run a couple of sacks across the Apennines. Having no faith in the muleteer's honesty, he filled the pockets of his coat and overcoat with the best rice of Italy. The muleteer failed to reappear, but the small store from his pockets reached the president of the Agricultural Society of South Carolina, who distributed it among the planters, a dozen or more grains to each. These were carefully sown and watched, and were the origin of our present staple,—the best rice in the world.

Jefferson was a "book" farmer. In arranging his system he betrayed a mathematical taste. He divided his cultivated lands into four farms of two hundred and eighty acres each, and each farm into seven fields of forty acres, marking the boundaries by rows of peach-trees. He set out eleven hundred and fifty-one trees during his first year at home after retiring from the Presidency. The seven fields indicated his system of rotation of crops, which embraced seven years; first year, wheat; second, corn; third, peas or potatoes; fourth, vetches; fifth, wheat again; sixth and seventh, clover. Each of the four farms under its own overseer was cultivated by four negroes, four negresses, four horses, and four oxen, but at harvest and other busy times the working forces of all were concentrated.

He had a threshing-machine imported from Scotland, where it was newly invented,—the first ever seen in Virginia. It answered its purpose so well that all the planters in the neighborhood sent for machines or had them made at home.

THE STATE CAPITOL AT RICHMOND

(Designed by Thomas Jefferson)

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
CALIFORNIA

"This machine is conveyed from one farm to another in a wagon, and threshes from 120 to 150 bushels a day," Jefferson reports, and refers also to "a machine for sowing seed in rows invented in the neighborhood," with the performance of which the master of Monticello was well pleased.

In his autobiography Jefferson says that one of his "passions" was architecture, and his genius, or rather his classical taste, can be seen in the buildings of the University of Virginia, which he copied from the finest models in Greece. In addition to Monticello he designed the residences of several of his neighbors, and his skill is seen in several of the symmetrical mansions built in the colonial period of Virginia, particularly at Lower Brandon, the home of the Harrisons on the lower James.

He planned the Capitol of Virginia and also a prison for that State, the latter being based upon "a well contrived device on the principle of solitary confinement" which he saw in Lyons, France. The Capitol, he says, was modelled upon "the Maison Quarree of Nismes, one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful and precious morsel of architecture left us by antiquity. It was built by Caius and Lucius Cæsar, and repaired by Louis XIV., and has the suffrage of all the judges of architecture who have seen it, as yielding to no one of the beautiful monuments of Greece, Rome, Palmyra and Balbec, which late travellers have communicated to us. It is very simple, but it is noble beyond expression."

He was deeply interested in the construction of the Capitol at Washington, and was one of the judges who considered the plans submitted by various competitors for the honor of constructing the building. Thornton's plan, he said, "captivated the eyes and the judgment of all," and

he writes Latrobe, the architect, who restored the building after it was destroyed by the British army: "I shall live in the hope that the day will come when an opportunity will be given you of finishing the middle building in a style worthy of the two wings, and worthy of the first temple dedicated to the sovereignty of the people, embellishing with Athenian taste the course of a nation looking far beyond the range of Athenian destinies."

Jefferson was sceptical as to the science of medicine, and discussed the subject with the same interest that he did theology and politics. He believed in a vegetable diet and in permitting nature to "reëstablish order" in the human system when any of its organs or functions were deranged. "Experience," he says, "teaches that there are certain substances by which, applied to the living body, internally or externally, nature can be assisted, and thus accomplish in a short time what nature would do slowly. So far," he continues, "I bow to the utility of medicine, but here the judicious, the moral, the humane physician should stop. But the adventuresome physician goes on and substitutes presumption for knowledge. He forms his table of nosology, arrays his diseases into families, and extends his curative treatment by analogy to all the cases he has thus arbitrarily marshalled together."

While he was Secretary of State Jefferson wrote his daughter concerning the treatment of her baby, who was ill. "Let me beseech you," he says, "not to destroy the powers of her stomach with medicine. Nature alone can reëstablish infant organs, only taking care that her efforts be not thwarted by imprudence of diet."

Dr. Dunglison, one of the imported professors at the University, who treated him when he was

ill, and was with him when he died, says: "He often told me that he would rather trust to the unaided or rather uninterfered with efforts of nature, than to physicians in general. 'It is not,' he was wont to observe, 'to physics I object so much as to physicians." In the presence of Dr. Everett, afterwards private secretary to President Monroe, he remarked that whenever he saw three physicians together, he looked up to discover whether there was not a turkey buzzard in the neighborhood. But whatever may have been Mr. Jefferson's notions of physics and physicians, it is but justice to say that he was one of the most attentive and respectful of patients. He bore suffering inflicted upon him for remedial purposes with fortitude; and in my visits showed me by memoranda the regularity with which he had taken prescribed remedies at the appointed times."

Notwithstanding this scepticism in medical science, Jefferson was all his life a curious inquirer into such subjects, and could, upon an emergency, sew up an ugly wound or set a negro's broken leg. Delicacy of touch and dexterity of hand, joined to his fearlessness and patience of investigation, Dr. Dunglison says, would have made him a master in surgery. Convinced of the utility of inoculation for small-pox then performed by Dr. Shippen, of Philadelphia, he submitted to vaccination, one of the first prominent men in America to do so.

Jefferson availed himself of every opportunity to get information concerning the languages of the Indians of North America, and made a collection of their vocabularies, intending at leisure to analyze them and trace their derivation. When he left Washington, after vacating the Presidential chair, these valuable papers were packed with other

documents in a trunk, and with the rest of his baggage sent around by Richmond, whence they were to be shipped by boat up the James and Rivanna Rivers to Monticello. Two negro boatmen took it for granted that the ex-President was returning from office with untold wealth, and supposing by the weight of the trunk that it contained silver or gold, broke it open. The papers were scattered to the winds, and thus was lost Jefferson's valuable collection of philology.

His interest in the unexplored West was intense. He never tired of listening to frontiersmen who had visited the prairies and the mountains, and his high estimate of the value of the resources of the country west of the Mississippi River caused him to be ridiculed for credulity, though it was trifling compared with the actual truth. It was Jefferson who encouraged Astor to invade the Northwest for trade,—a scheme as feasible as it was audacious,—but the War of 1812 interfered. It is interesting to observe, in view of the present importance of the silver deposits in the mountains, that in 1808 the secret of their existence "seventeen hundred miles from St. Louis" was confided to the President, who writes to Gallatin: "I enclose for your information the account of a silver mine to fill your treasury."

As a member of the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, Jefferson took the lead in 1792 in raising a thousand guineas to send Andrew Michaud across the continent to find out something about the great plains and rivers, the Indians and the animals, the bones of the mammoth, and whatever else a Philosophical Society and an American people might care to know. Michaud did not find the Pacific Ocean. That honor was left for Jefferson's future private secretary.

It was Jefferson, too, who encouraged the two expeditions of Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who named the peak he discovered. Pike was the first American to explore the Upper Mississippi beyond the Falls of St. Anthony, shaking hands on the way with "Monsieur Dubuque," the lead-miner, who exercised despotic authority over a wide dominion. Pike was the first American to explore the Valley of the Arkansas and enter New Mexico, where the Spanish governor threw him into jail as a filibuster and revolutionist. It was Jefferson who sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke to the sources of the Missouri, across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River, and down the Columbia until they reached the Pacific. Counting from the time when Captain John Smith sailed up the Chickahominy in search of the South Sea, the world had waited two hundred years for the knowledge they brought back. Never was a piece of work of that kind better done or better chronicled. Jefferson selected the two heroes who conducted it. Captain Lewis was his own private secretary, the son of one of his most esteemed Albemarle neighbors. Lieutenant Clarke was a brother of General George Rogers Clarke, who kept the Indians from aiding the British in the War of the Revolution. Both were masters of the frontier arts, so that the perilous expedition of two years and a half was to them a holiday excursion. Returning to St. Louis laden with spoils and trophies, Captain Lewis, besides his journals and other official results, sent the President "sixty-seven specimens of earth, salt and mineral, and sixty specimens of plants."

Jefferson was the author of the coinage system of the United States. As chairman of the Committee on Currency of the First Congress he recom-

mended the use of decimals in the notation of money in preference to the awkward pound-shilling-and-pence of the mother country. Gouverneur Morris, afterwards minister to France, then in the banking-house of Robert Morris, chairman of the Finance Committee, originally conceived the idea, which Jefferson readily accepted, and proposed the dollar as the unit and the largest silver coin; a gold coin of ten-dollars' value, a silver coin of the value of one-tenth of a dollar, and a copper coin of the value of one hundredth of a dollar. He suggested three other coins for the convenience of making change,—a silver half dollar, a silver double tenth, and a copper twentieth. It remained only to invent easy names for these coins, which was done in due time. This currency was not adopted without vigorous persistence on the part of Jefferson, both in and out of Congress. Robert Morris, the first man of America at that time in matters of finance, opposed the suggestion because people were familiar with the English money and did not want a change. Jefferson desired to apply the decimal system to all measures. "When I travel," he says, "I use an odometer, which divides the miles into cents, and I find everyone comprehends a distance readily when stated to him in miles and cents; so he would in feet and cents, pounds and cents."

On the 2d of September, 1790, we find this entry in his account-book:

> "pd Leslie for an odometer 10D.
> Diary of journey to Monticello
> Set out from Philadelphia."

Then follows a table setting forth the name of each village through which he passed, its distance from the last stopping-place, the number of revo-

lutions of the wheels of his phaeton, which were registered by the odometer, and, for a part of the distance, the time consumed in running from station to station, the character of the country, whether level or hilly, and of the soil, whether loam, clay, gravel, sand, stumpy, stony, and the places where he breakfasted, dined, and lodged, are all noted in the margin.

Had Jefferson's advice been followed our tables of measures to-day would be: "Ten points one line; ten lines one inch; ten inches one foot; ten feet one decad; ten decads one rood; ten roods one furlong; ten furlongs one mile." But this was too novel and audacious for Congress to accept.

The mint at Philadelphia was established on Jefferson's recommendation when he was Secretary of State. Until then our coins were struck in Europe. "Coinage is peculiarly an attribute of sovereignty," he said. "To transfer its exercise to another country is to submit it to another sovereign." So a mint was opened at Philadelphia, workmen were invited from abroad, and a quantity of copper ordered from Europe to be made into American cents.

Among the many curious relics of his tireless, minute industry which have been preserved to this day is a small, well-worn leather-bound manuscript volume of one hundred and five pages, entitled "Parliamentary Pocket Book," begun by him when he was a young lawyer, expecting soon to be a member of the House of Burgesses of Virginia. Upon this work, which contained the substance of ancient parliamentary law and usage, while he was Vice-President he gradually constructed his "Manual of Parliamentary Practice" which still governs deliberative bodies. After amending and adding to it for four years, aided by the learning

and experience of his ancient master in the law, George Wythe, he left it in manuscript to the United States Senate, "as the standard by which he had judged, and was willing to be judged."

Soon after the organization of the government, Congress authorized the Secretary of State to issue patents for inventions, hence Thomas Jefferson is often referred to as the Father of the Patent Office. He took great pride in this duty but felt the full responsibility, because he had doubts concerning the constitutionality of the practice, and, particularly, because the new law was founded upon the patent system of the British, whom he despised. He gave personal consideration to every application for a patent that was filed between 1790 and 1793. In those days the granting of a patent was an event that resembled in importance and public apprehension the organization of a trust a century later, and was the subject of similar comment and criticism. Able lawyers questioned the authority of the government to grant monopolies or protect a citizen in the manufacture of an article of his own invention, and it became a political issue. Jefferson took the ground that "if nature has made any one thing less susceptible than all others of exclusive property, it is the action of the thinking power called an idea, which an individual may exclusively possess as long as he keeps it to himself. But the moment it is divulged, it forces itself into the possession of every one and the receiver can not dispossess himself of it. Inventions can not in nature be a subject of property. Society may give an exclusive right to the profits arising from them, as an encouragement to men to pursue ideas which may produce utility, but this may or may not be according to the will and convenience of society

without claim or complaint from anybody." Acting in behalf of "society," Congress assumed the authority, and Jefferson exercised it with great caution.

It is a matter of tradition, handed down to us from generation to generation by those who loved to speak of Jefferson and his virtues and eccentricities, that when an application was made he would summon General Knox, of Massachusetts, who was Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, who was Attorney-General, those officials having been designated by the act with the Secretary of State as a tribunal to grant patents; that these three distinguished gentlemen would examine the application critically, carefully scrutinizing each point of the specifications and claim. The result was that during the first year a majority of the applications were rejected. Only three patents were granted, Jefferson seeking always to impress upon the minds of the officials and the public that the act was of no ordinary importance. During the year 1791 thirty-three patents were granted, in 1792 eleven, and in 1793 twenty, making only sixty-seven in all under Jefferson's interpretation of the original law. The first patent issued was to Samuel Hopkins, July 31, 1790, for "Making Pot and Pearl Ashes." It was signed by George Washington, President, Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, and Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General.

The narrow construction placed upon the law by Secretary Jefferson caused a revision in 1793 notwithstanding his endeavors to prevent it. He held in numerous arguments made before Congress that the promiscuous granting of patents or monopolies in any art or industry was not only against the theory of popular government, but would be

pernicious in its consequences. Furthermore, it was in the interest of New England. It was advocated by the Federalists, and that was enough to excite his suspicions and opposition. General Washington was in favor of a broad patent law. "I can not forbear," he says, in a message to Congress, "intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the execution of skill and genius in producing them at home." With the influence of Washington and the growing interest in manufacturing industries the original act was enlarged and made more liberal in spite of Jefferson's objections, who, under the new law of 1793, construed the issue of a patent as a mere ministerial act, and said: "Instead of revising a patent in the first instance, as the board was formerly authorized to do, the patent is now issued of course, subject to be declared void on such principles as may be established by the courts of law. The previous refusal of a patent would better guard our citizens against harassments by law suits, but England had given it to her judges, and the usual predominancy of her example carried it to ours."

From 1790 to 1812 inventive genius in the United States was directed almost wholly to agricultural and commercial objects, but the embargo that preceded the war in England forced the people into branches of manufacture hitherto almost entirely neglected, and the result of this was the most rapid and radical and remarkable development of human ingenuity ever known to any age or nation.

One of the first applications rejected by Secretary Jefferson was filed by one Isaacs for a patent for an alleged discovery of a method of converting

sea water into fresh water. Not satisfied with his own examination of the process, he invited the enterprising Isaacs to try his hand upon a bucket of salt water in the presence of the members of the Philadelphia Philosophical Society. The process proved to be mere distillation (known and practised for many years) veiled by a little hocus-pocus of Isaacs's own contriving. Jefferson reported against the claim, and advised that a short account of the best way of extemporizing a still on board ship be printed on the back of all ships' clearances with an invitation to send the results of such experiments to the Secretary of State.

One of Jefferson's last acts before leaving the Department of State was to issue a patent to Eli Whitney for the cotton-gin. He was very quick to perceive the value of this the first of the great inventions in America, and which is universally considered one of the most important in the early history of human ingenuity. In acknowledging the receipt of the application Jefferson took Whitney into his confidence and made several personal and pertinent inquiries in his official communication. He wrote: "As the state of Virginia, of which I am, carries on manufactures of cotton to a great extent, as I also do myself and as one of our greatest embarrassments is the cleaning of the cotton of the seed, I feel a considerable interest in the success of your invention, for family use. Permit me therefore to ask information from you on these points. Has the machine been thoroughly tried in the ginning of cotton, or is it yet but a machine of theory? What quantity has it cleaned on an average of several days, and worked by hand, and by how many hands? What will be the cost of one of them made to be worked by hand? Favorable answers to these questions

would induce me to engage one of them to be forwarded to Richmond for me."

In reply Whitney gives an interesting account of the history of his cotton-gin, and says that at the time it was invented he had never seen a machine of any kind for ginning cotton, but, in the following spring, he learned from a Savannah newspaper that a man named Pearce, of New Jersey, had invented one, and "has since understood that his improvement was only a multiplication of the small rollers used in the common gin." Whitney speaks modestly of the device which was to revolutionize the cotton trade, assures Jefferson that it is "well calculated for family use," and "will cleanse all the cotton which any one family manufactures for its own use."

Although he was doubtful as to the constitutionality of the patent law and was always suspicious of being imposed upon, Jefferson conscientiously paid royalty to a man named Evans for the use of "elevators, conveyors and hopper boys" that were used in his mill at Monticello. At the same time he wrote a lengthy letter to a correspondent whom he "had not the pleasure of knowing personally" to prove that Evans was not entitled to his patent because the same system was in use in Egypt from the beginning of time, and had been found by a Dr. Shaw "at Cairo in a well 264 feet deep, which the inhabitants believed to have been a work of the patriarch Joseph." In this letter Jefferson shows great erudition by tracing the development of the elevator as used for water or grain, and gives numerous instances where the process was known in Persia and "in other countries inhabited by the ancients." He also gives his ideas on the subject of patent rights with great clearness.

"I assume it is a lemma," he says, "that it is the invention of the machine itself which is to give a patent right and not the application of it to any particular purpose of which it is susceptible. If one person invents a knife convenient for pointing our pens, another can not have a patent right for the same knife to point our pencils. A compass was invented for navigation at Sea; another can not have a patent right for using it to serve on land. A machine for threshing wheat has been invented in Scotland; a second person can not get a patent right for the same machine to thresh oats, a third rye, a fourth peas and a fifth clover."

"As a member of the patent board for several years, while the law authorized the board to grant or refuse patents, I saw with what slow progress a system of general rules could be matured. Some, however, were established by that board. One of these was that a machine of which we were possessed might be applied by every man to any use of which it is susceptible, and that this right ought not to be taken from him and given to a monopoly because he first, perhaps had occasion to apply it. Thus a screw for crushing plaster might be employed for crushing grain, and a chain pump for raising water might be used for raising wheat, this being merely a change of application. Another rule was that the change of material should not give title to a patent: as the making the ploughshare of cast rather than wrought iron; a comb of iron instead of horn or ivory; or the connecting of buckets by a band of leather rather than of hemp or iron. A third was that the mere change of form should give no right to a patent; as a high quarter shoe instead of a low one, a round hat instead of a three square or a square bucket instead of a round one; but for this rule all the

changes of fashion in dress would have been under the tax of patentees."

Jefferson was himself an inventor, although, consistent to his belief in the natural right of all mankind to share useful improvements without restraint, he never applied for a patent. His first original device was a folding-chair, which he used to carry to church in early days when services were held in the court-house at Charlottesville and the seating conveniences were insufficient. His grandson tells us how he would "mount his horse early in the morning, during the latter years of his life, canter down the mountain and across the country to the site of the University, and spend a long day there, directing the work; carrying with him a walking stick of his own invention, now familiar to all, composed of three sticks, which being spread out and covered with a piece of cloth made a tolerable seat." Bacon, his overseer, in his reminiscences says: "His servant came with him and brought a seat, a kind of camp stool of his own invention. After Jefferson got old and feeble a servant used to go with him and carry that stool so that he could sit down while he was waiting for anybody, or attending to any work that was going on."

It is also claimed that he invented the revolving chair, now a familiar and necessary article of furniture in all offices and counting-rooms. The Federalist newspapers used to call it "Mr. Jefferson's whirl-i-gig," and declared that he had invented it "so as to look all ways at once."

He also designed a light wagon or sulky with a comfortable seat and two wheels, with which he frequently drove around the country when he was too feeble to ride horseback.

One of his inventions was a hemp-break, which,

he says, "has long been wanted by the cultivators of hemp, and as soon as I can speak of its effect with certainty I shall describe it anonymously in the public papers, in order to forestall the prevention of its use by some interloping patentee."

He invented a pedometer to measure the distances he walked. He sent one to James Madison with the following explanatory letter: "To the loop at the bottom of it, you must sew a tape, and at the other end of the tape, a small hook. Cut a little hole in the bottom of your left watch pocket, pass the hook and tape through it, and down between the breeches and drawers, and fix the hook on the edge of your knee band, an inch from the knee buckle; then hook the instrument itself by its swivel hook, on the upper edge of your watch pocket. Your tape being well adjusted in length, your steps will be exactly measured by the instrument."

His most important invention was a plough. Edward Bacon, his overseer, says: "He was very ingenious. He invented a plough that was considered a great improvement on any that had ever been used. He got a great many premiums and medals for it. He planned his own carriage, buildings, garden and fences and a good many other things. He was nearly always busy upon some plan or model."

Jefferson's plough received a gold medal in France in 1790. During his European tours he had been struck with the waste of power caused by the bad construction of the ploughs in common use. The part of the plough called the "mould-board," which is above the share and turns over the earth, seemed to him the chief seat of error, and he spent many of the leisure hours of his last two years in France in evolving a mould-board

which should offer the minimum of resistance. He sent the original design to the Royal Agricultural Society of the Seine. The medal which they awarded for it followed the inventor to New York, and eighteen years afterwards the Society sent him a superb plough containing his improvement.

Mr. Jefferson's judgment concerning agricultural machinery was so highly esteemed that he was frequently consulted by inventors, and Robert Mills, who filed the first application for a patent for a reaping-machine, submitted to him the model and the drawings before he sent them to the Patent Office. The following is an extract from Mr. Jefferson's letter to the inventor:

"I have considered your plan of a reaping machine, which I consider as simple and promising. but experience has taught me never form an ultimate decision on a plan or model, or anything short of the actual experiment. I would make one observation on what will be easily corrected. The wheel E moves with exactly the velocity of the horse, i. e. about four f. in a second. The peripheries of D. & B with about ⅔ that velocity. The medium point of the scythe M with about double the last of 5⅓ ft in a second, which would not I think be sufficient to cut. I presume a scythe slung with a man's arm has nearly the double of that velocity. I salute you with esteem and attachment.

"TH. JEFFERSON."

During his five years in Europe Jefferson kept four colleges, Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, and the College of Philadelphia, advised of all new inventions, discoveries, and publications that seemed to him important. It was he who sent to the United States the first announcement of the success of Watt's steam engine, by means of which, he says, "a peck and a half of coal performs as much work as a horse in a day." He learned of this wonderful mechanism from Mr. Boulton, a partner of Watt, and as soon as

he could be spared from Paris he crossed the Channel to London to see it in operation; but, much to his disappointment, he was not allowed to make a minute examination. He was permitted "to view the outward parts of the machinery, and can not tell whether the mill is turned by the steam immediately, or by a stream of water which the steam pumped up." He does not appear to have perceived the possibilities of this invention for motive power in manufacturing and large industries, but associated it in his mind with domestic conveniences. He expresses a timid hope "that they may make it available for pumping water to the tops of houses for family use. Every family," he continues, "has a kitchen fire, small indeed, but sufficient for the purpose."

He spent a great deal of time in Europe collecting information about internal navigation, which was particularly welcome to the companies formed to utilize the Potomac and the James.

He notified Congress of the invention by a French mechanic of a machine, now familiar to every workshop, "by which wheels and other parts of a watch or clock can be multiplied in duplicate, as many as are desired, so exactly alike that one can be used in place of another without altering or fitting." "A similar machine," he said, had been made for the purpose of reproducing "the parts of a musket lock by hundreds or thousands, or any number desired, so exact that they can be put together as neatly and exactly as if each had been made by hand of the same size and pattern, so that one part can be replaced by a duplicate at will." He wisely predicted the great utility of this invention in lessening the cost of articles of common use, and suggested that the principles should be applied to all manufactures.

IN CONCLUSION

THOMAS JEFFERSON is perhaps the most picturesque character in American history. He was longer in public life; he exercised a more potent and permanent influence upon his own and succeeding generations than any other man, not excepting Washington; but his character and motives have been and always will be subjects of controversy. There is no difference of opinion as to the honesty and patriotism of Washington, Franklin, Jackson, Lincoln, or Grant; while Jefferson is still extolled by some writers as the greatest and purest of statesmen and patriots, and by others denounced as a dangerous demagogue, unsound in his principles, insincere in his utterances, and dishonest in his acts. At the same time no public man ever left so much direct testimony in his own behalf. He was the most prolific of writers. There is scarcely a question in the entire range of human inquiry which he did not discuss; and his manuscripts were intentionally preserved and carefully arranged for the instruction of posterity. He frequently changed his policy and programme, and took different views of the same subjects on different occasions, perhaps on the ancient theory that "a wise man often changes his mind,—a fool never." A distinguished member of the United States Senate of the Populist party, in a valedictory address, declared that he had heard Thomas Jefferson quoted to sustain every side of every question that had been discussed in that body. This is not so much of an exaggeration as one unfamiliar with Jefferson's writings would sup-

pose, but has not the Devil been known to quote Holy Scripture?

Some of his political methods would not be tolerated at the present day, but the most searching investigations have never been able to convict Jefferson of using money to influence votes. His official diary, called "Anas," is a monument of human malice. Its pages, written in his own hand, have injured him more than the assaults of all his enemies. Yet no other public man ever endured such violent and prolonged attacks upon his private and public character. Upon one occasion only did he stoop to defend himself, or even notice such charges. When a New England clergyman accused him of misusing the funds of widows and orphans, he simply explained that he could not possibly be guilty, because such funds had never been entrusted to his care.

It was instinct that led Jefferson to grasp at power and to attempt to exert his influence in every direction. When he was unhampered, as in the Presidency, he became a mild dictator, a moderate autocrat. His strong individuality always asserted itself, and a consciousness of superiority made it natural and necessary for him to rule. When he met resistance he was irritated, and retired with a sense of injury and feelings of resentment, as from the Cabinet of Washington.

Unhappily, Jefferson was called to the head of the Cabinet while his theories of government were still glowing with the heat of the French Revolution, and retained the odor of the guillotine. He would have had an instant quarrel with any other President than Washington, whose sedate and charitable disposition made him patient and conservative. Jefferson tried him severely,

chiefly by his intemperate utterances, and his bitter attacks upon Hamilton and the New England supporters of the administration. Gradually the Cabinet, the Congress, and finally the country, which up to that time had been a unit in the support of Washington, divided into two political factions, the Republicans under the leadership of Jefferson, then Secretary of State, and the Federalists under the leadership of Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury. That was the beginning of American politics and the origin of American political parties.

Jefferson's abhorrence of war and debt made his second term as President a failure compared with the brilliant triumphs of the first. He relinquished power with gratitude and without regret.

What is commonly referred to as "Jeffersónian simplicity" will always be a subject of controversy. Jefferson was never ostentatious, but with the exception of two years of his first term as President he carefully observed the conventional rules that governed people of refinement and social position. He was recognized as a gentleman of simple but elegant manners. Suddenly, and for a short time, he abandoned those habits, and permitted himself to become not only an object of severe criticism, but a cause of offence to the diplomatic representatives of friendly nations, who were compelled to protest to their governments against his violation of the proprieties and the ordinary laws of hospitality as observed by civilized communities. Notwithstanding the protests of the foreigners and the criticisms of many well-bred people at home, the popular verdict in the United States approved Jefferson's conduct, but it left upon the world a false impression of Ameri-

can manners and customs that was not corrected for more than half a century, and is not yet entirely effaced.

The fact that his suspension of the etiquette of polite society was temporary, that the period of "simplicity" was limited, leads the student of Jefferson's character to assume that it was the result of a purpose, and the natural presumption is that he intended and expected thereby to strengthen his political influence upon the class commonly called "the plain people." This is the interpretation of those who believe him to have been a demagogue. Yet at no other time in his long career did he ever resort to such tactics; and at no other time were they so absolutely unnecessary, for he was then at the height of his power and influence, the idol of two-thirds of the American people. Therefore we must look farther and higher for the motive of Jefferson's extraordinary conduct, and may perhaps suggest that it was due to a desire, by a shock to check and counteract the increasing tendency of the Federal government to adopt the forms, ceremonies, and etiquette of European courts. This was done, and done effectually and permanently. If Jefferson's purpose has been accurately stated, it was fully accomplished. His estimate of the honor and power and dignity of the Presidential office was no less exalted than was that of Washington and Adams, but with his democratic ideas of government he recognized, and wished everyone else to recognize, that they were derived only from the people and should be exercised for their sole benefit.

His faith in the accuracy and justice of public sentiment was never shaken, and he was never unwilling to follow it as a guide. Even at the

greatest crisis of his career, when he added an empire to the area he had been selected to govern in violence to his own construction of the Constitution, he defended the act on the ground that it was for the good of the people and would be justified by them.

Jefferson often made mistakes, but, as he said of Washington, he "erred with integrity." If he changed his mind, it was because he had new light or a clearer understanding; if he altered his course, it was because he believed he could accomplish greater good; but he had one purpose that never wavered. He was often inconsistent, but was never insincere in his anxiety and never faltered in his determination to establish a democracy in the United States,—a government, as Lincoln said, of the people, for the people, by the people,—and whatever he did was done with the intention and the hope of promoting that end.

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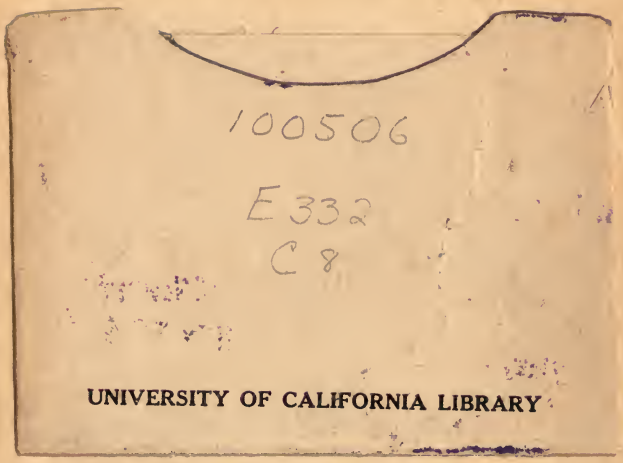
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